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AMERICA IN THE FORTIES

The Letters of Ole Munch Røder

Translated and Edited by

GUNNAR J. MALMIN



Published for

THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
By THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS

AMERICA IN THE FORTIES

NORWEGIAN - AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION SERIES
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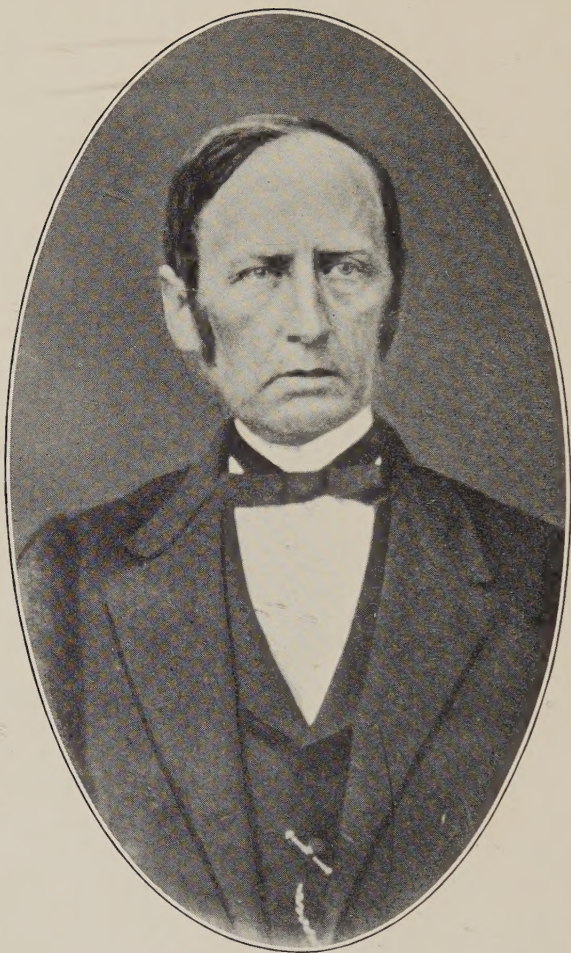
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OLE MUNCH RÆDER

*[From a photograph in the possession of his son, Dr. Ulrik Anton Ræder
of Asker, Norway]*

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21730

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MINNEAPOLIS

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PREFACE

This volume is made up of a series of informal travel letters written in 1847 and 1848 by Ole Munch Ræder, a Norwegian scholar, who was sent by his government to America to make a study of the jury system. These letters, describing his experiences and recording his observations, were given contemporary publication in *Den Norske Rigtidende*, a newspaper of Christiania, Norway, and are now brought together in an English translation under the supplied title *America in the Forties*.

Though Munch Ræder was no De Tocqueville, he was a competent observer of institutions and customs. He wrote as an admirer of the American governmental system, but his generalizations were on the whole critical and judicious. He had withal a warm interest in human beings and social habits, and his letters contain many precise details and shrewd observations about American life. If the tone of his commentary is not always dispassionate, his vigorous presentation of his own opinions adds to the color of his letters without substantially subtracting from their value. They possess special historical worth for their portrayal of conditions on the American frontier in the late forties, particularly in Wisconsin and among the Norwegian pioneers. But Munch Ræder's interest was wider than a section or a group, and his letters constantly reach out from local to regional and national considerations. Of historical significance also are his comments on old-world conditions, especially in Norway; and American readers will be interested in his dream of a Scandinavian "United States" with a government modeled upon the American Constitution.

Mr. Malmin discovered the letters in a file of *Den Norske*

Rigstidende in the library of the University of Oslo during the year 1923-1924, when he was in Norway making a survey of archival materials relating to Norwegian emigration for the Carnegie Institution of Washington and with the support of the American-Scandinavian Foundation. The translation was made from a set of typewritten transcripts of the newspaper series. The chapter titles have been supplied by the translator; and the spelling of names has been corrected in cases of obvious error.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the financial assistance of Sir Karl Knudsen of London, who has established a generous fund in Oslo for the use of the Association in research in Norway. This fund made possible, among other things, a careful search for information relating to Munch Ræder by the Association's archival agent, Mrs. Gudrun Natrud, during the summer of 1928. Mrs. Natrud not only hunted for materials in libraries and archives but also communicated with Munch Ræder's son, Dr. Ulrik Anton Ræder, of Asker, Norway, through whose courtesy she was permitted to examine a packet containing the originals of the letters that Munch Ræder wrote from America. Her examination brought to light several new items that were not included in *Den Norske Rigstidende*. These were transcribed and have been translated for inclusion in the present volume.

Finally the managing editor desires to acknowledge the valued assistance of Mrs. Solon J. Buck of Minneapolis in preparing the manuscript for the printer and in seeing it through the press.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Numerous accounts of travel in America were produced by Europeans during the first half of the nineteenth century, and such works were widely read on both sides of the Atlantic by interested contemporaries. Indeed, a few books of this class, by virtue of their vivid description and incisive comment, are still read with pleasure by the general public. The historical value of such documents varies greatly, depending upon the education and training of a given author, his powers of observation, the extent of his travels, and his ability to record his experiences clearly and accurately. Even if the defects of a travel narrative are numerous, if it is obviously the product of an individual whose prejudices color his observations or whose judgments for other reasons are of sharply limited value, it may nevertheless contain observations and records of much historical interest, especially when used in conjunction with other available sources of information. Even the narratives of humble commoners, whose fields of experience and points of view were alike limited and whose writings were in the crudest style, are often of very considerable value. All the more significance, therefore, attaches to accounts by men of scholarly attainments and broad experience, trained both to observe and to record.

The narrative comprising the present volume, translated from a series of letters written in 1847 and 1848 and published originally in a Norwegian newspaper, comes from the pen of a scholar who won distinction in Norway in the fields of jurisprudence and political science. The author, Ole Munch Ræder, came from a family that for several generations had played a prominent part in Norwegian political

and military affairs. His grandfather, Johan Georg Ræder, attained the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Norwegian army. His father, Johan Christopher Ræder, was a colonel and a member of the Storting. His brother, Johan Georg, rose to the position of head of the engineer corps of the Norwegian army, with the rank of lieutenant general; he was a member of important government committees and an advisory member of the Norwegian supreme court in cases involving military matters. Another brother, Nicolai Ditlev Anton, was for a time the head of a division in the church department of the Norwegian government, later *amtmand* in North Bergenhus *Amt*, and finally *stiftamtmand*¹ in the diocese of Bergen.

Ole Munch Ræder was born at Kongsvinger, Norway, on May 3, 1815. In 1832 he was graduated from the Trondhjem Cathedral School and in 1839 he completed his study of law at the University of Christiania, in both cases receiving the grade *laudabilis*. After serving as a clerk in the Auditing Department (*Revisionsdepartementet*) and in the Department of Justice, he studied in Denmark, Germany, France, Switzerland, and Italy, from 1842 to 1844. By an act of September 2, 1845, the Storting placed at the disposal of the government a sum of money for carrying on investigations in foreign countries as to legal procedure in civil, criminal, and military cases. For this purpose government stipends of fifteen hundred dollars each were given to Munch Ræder and to E. Aubert.

Ræder left Norway in October, 1846. After spending about six weeks in Holland, Belgium, and France, he reached London late in January, 1847. He left England for New York about the middle of May, and soon after his arrival

¹ Norway is divided into eighteen districts or counties, now known as *fylker*, formerly called *amter*. The executive head of each district, now called *fylkesmann*, was formerly known as the *amtmand*. A *stiftamtmand* was at the head of each diocese, comprising two or three *amter*.

in the United States set out for the West. It is interesting to note that he had as a companion on the trip from New York to Madison, Wisconsin, the Norwegian-Swedish consul general, Adam Løvenskjold, whose report to his government on the Norwegian settlements in the West, dated October 15, 1847, was published at Bergen, Norway, the following year.² Numerous points of resemblance will be found between this report and the first portion of Ræder's account. After spending some time in Madison, Ræder traveled through the country accompanying a federal judge on his circuit, visiting the towns of Jefferson, Janesville, and Elkhorn, and finally returning to Madison.

Then toward the end of October he left for the East by the Galena and Mississippi River route. Because of delays on the river and fifteen days spent in St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh, he did not reach Washington until the beginning of December. He remained in Washington until after the middle of January, 1848, when he left for Philadelphia. After about six weeks there and a shorter stay in New York City, he proceeded to Boston in the beginning of May, 1848. Two months were spent in Boston, then Ræder went on to Montreal through New Hampshire and Vermont, with stops of a day or two in Concord and Montpelier. In the beginning of September he left Montreal for New York, traveling by way of Lake Champlain, Whitehall, and Saratoga. From New York he sailed for Bremerhaven about the middle of October, and he had returned to Norway by New Year's Day of 1849.³

During his travels he found time to write an account

² A copy of this report is in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and an English translation of it, by Dr. Knut Gjerset, appears under the title, "An Account of the Norwegian Settlers in North America," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 8: 77-88 (September, 1924).

³ This itinerary has been taken from an article by Munch Ræder telling of the scope of his travels and the method of his studies in *Den Norske Rigstidende* for September 18, 1850.

of his trip in a series of letters which was published in *Den Norske Rigstidende*, an important Christiania newspaper, in twenty-five installments from November 6, 1847, to July 3, 1848. From 1850 to 1852 he published a three-volume work on the jury system in Great Britain, Canada, and the United States.⁴ On the basis of the information collected by Aubert and Munch Ræder, the Storting in 1851 asked the government to prepare a law establishing a legal procedure based on the jury system. The government appointed a committee to look into the matter, but in 1856, after much delay, it reported against the proposed law. In the meantime, however, the Storting took matters into its own hands and in 1854 it appointed a committee of its own. The bill that this committee prepared passed both houses of the Storting in 1857, but was vetoed. In 1863 the government presented a bill of its own making, also embodying the jury system, but it was rejected by the Storting. Finally, in 1887, under the Sverdrup ministry, a law as to procedure in criminal cases⁵ was enacted, introducing the jury system.

Upon his return to Norway in 1849, Munch Ræder accepted a position as clerk (*fuldmæktig*) in the Department of Justice, and in 1850 he was transferred to the Navy Department as chief secretary (*expeditionssekretær*). On January 16, 1861, he was appointed burgo-master of Christiansand, and on June 21 of the same year he was made Norwegian-Swedish consul at Malta. From 1869 to 1871 he was consul general at Alexandria, and then he returned to his former position at Malta. In 1874 he was appointed consul general at Hamburg, and he served in that capacity until November 27, 1891, when he retired

⁴ *Jury-Institutionen i Storbritanien, Canada og de forenede Stater af Amerika* (Christiania, 1850-1852).

⁵ *Lov om Rettergang i Straffesager*. See Gustav Storm, "Norges Politiske Historie," in *Norge i det Nittende Aarhundrede*, 1: 151, 159, 165, 167 (Christiania, 1900), edited by Nordahl Rolfsen.

with a pension and moved to Christiania. Here he died on March 10, 1895. In 1869 he was made a knight of the first class of the Order of St. Olav, and in 1892 a commander of the first class of the same order. He was also a knight of the Order of Vasa, first class.⁶

The exact number of the letters from the United States, as well as the time and place of their writing, is not always distinctly indicated, and certain portions of the original manuscript were omitted in the installments as they finally appeared in *Den Norske Rigstidende*. Most of the original manuscript is in the hands of Munch Ræder's son, Dr. Ulrik Anton Ræder of Asker, Norway, through whose courtesy it has been possible to supplement the newspaper series with some additions, notably chapters 19 and 27. In the published series, there seem to be eight or nine distinct letters. The first, dated Madison, Wisconsin, September, 1847, appeared in the issues of the *Rigstidende* for November 6, 9, 12, and 13, 1847. The second and third letters, probably written at Madison soon after the first communication, although time and place are not indicated, appeared respectively in the issues of November 15, 16, and 20, and of November 21, 23, 26, 29, and 30. The fourth, written at Janesville, Wisconsin,

⁶ This sketch of Munch Ræder's life is based on the account in Jens B. Halvorsen's *Norsk Forfatter-Lexikon, 1814-1880*, 4: 650-652 (Christiania, 1896). In addition to the letters from America and the book on the jury system Halvorsen gives a rather lengthy list of Ræder's published works. He edited the *Storthings Efterretninger* in 1839 and 1842 and—with C. A. Guldberg—in 1845. In 1840 he edited a collection of laws on pauper administration (*Fattigvæsenet*). In 1841, at Copenhagen, he published his *Den Norske Statsforfatnings Historie og Væsen*, a political history of Norway in 229 pages. In 1841 he issued anonymously a pamphlet of 79 pages regarding the election of members of the Storting, and in 1893 a pamphlet of 92 pages on the union with Sweden and the demand for a separate foreign office for Norway. He wrote articles on Norway for a number of French and German encyclopedias and contributed copiously to such magazines and newspapers as *Skilling's Magazin*, *Den Constitutionelle*, *Christiania Posten*, *Morgenbladet*, *Den Norske Rigstidende*, *Aftenbladet*, and *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*.

October 4, 1847, appeared in the *Rigstidende* for January 11, 1848. The fifth letter, appearing in the issues of January 12 and 17, February 14 and 18, and March 2, was written on board the steamship "Red Wing" on the Mississippi near Le Claire, Iowa, on October 29 and 30, and following days. The sixth letter, dated New York, March 24, 1848, is printed in the issue of April 23. Probably the installments in the issues of June 13 and 16 are also parts of this letter, since they are not dated but were apparently written in New York. The seventh letter, dated Boston, May, 1848, is printed in the issue of June 12, before the latter parts of the sixth letter, the reason for the inverted order probably being that the first Boston letter continues the discussion of the first part of the New York letter. The eighth letter, dated Boston, May 10, 1848, appeared in the issues of the *Rigstidende* for June 19 and 26, and July 3. Possibly what are here considered as the seventh and eighth letters are one.

English, French, and German commentaries on American life and conditions in the nineteenth century are numerous and have been much used by American historians. Similar works by Scandinavian travelers, with the notable exception of Fredrika Bremer, have been little known, partly because they have not been made available to the non-Scandinavian public through translations, and partly because copies of the books are rare or because the accounts are hidden away in the files of newspapers. Apart from Munch Ræder's personal qualifications for writing a narrative of American travel, there may be a considerable interest in seeing America in the forties through the eyes of a citizen of one of the smaller countries of Europe, familiar with European conditions in general, but drawing many of his comparisons with the little northern kingdom from which he came. In Ræder's case the point has added importance because the stream of

Norwegian immigration to the United States had fashioned a wide channel by the late forties, and the author was able to visit pioneer communities established by his own countrymen in the West and to describe them with a discernment that was rooted in thorough understanding of conditions in the old-world home that these immigrants had so recently left. His letters may therefore be regarded as of special value for the light that they throw upon the situation in the pioneer West in the forties, especially in Wisconsin. With Munch Ræder the reader may visit the Norwegian settlements, learn about the economic conditions that prevailed among the settlers, get an authentic idea of the health problem with which they coped, view their efforts to organize churches and meet in other ways their religious needs, hear an early echo of the transition from Norwegian to English in the daily speech of the immigrant pioneers, and ascertain not only the attitude of the Norwegians toward American political questions but also the prevailing attitude of the Americans toward the newcomers who had become their neighbors — and incidentally the attitude of an aristocratic Norwegian traveler toward both. These and many other equally interesting phases of the situation on the frontier are discussed at considerable length in the letters.

But the narrative is not exclusively nor even primarily concerned with conditions among the Norwegian settlers in the West. Contemporary politics, both in Wisconsin and in the nation at large; American traits and customs; and the views of other observers, chiefly English, of the American scene come in for their full share of the author's attention. Unlike some travelers of the period, Munch Ræder, though his point of view was undoubtedly that of a critical observer, wrote with a keen appreciation of American democracy and government. Of great interest, also, is his portrayal of the American reaction

to current events in Europe, particularly the revolution of 1848; and chapters 24, 25, and 26, dealing with the Pan-Scandinavian movement, disclose an interesting aspect of Scandinavian history.

Munch Ræder's letters were written for newspaper publication. They were thrown off while his journeys were in progress and they constitute in a sense the author's diary. For this very reason they possess a freshness and informality that would have been wanting had the writer set out to produce a book on America, even though they lack to some extent the considered judgments that such a work might have contained. In *Morgenbladet*, June 28, 1849, Munch Ræder writes that he has been urged to publish his letters in book form, and that he intends to do so as soon as time permits. "But these letters," he adds, "were not written with the thought that any publicity would be given them, except, at most, the momentary attention they might attract through newspaper publication. It will, therefore, be necessary to revise them carefully and probably to make a number of corrections if they are to be put in a presentable shape for such further publication. The same applies to a few other letters which have not yet been published, and I should like to elaborate on what I have already written on American conditions."

An allusion in one of the Munch Ræder letters has led to the discovery of a hitherto unknown Scandinavian-American newspaper, antedating by at least a half year the familiar *Nordlyset*, which appeared at Muskego, Wisconsin, on July 29, 1847, and which has been hitherto thought to be the first Scandinavian newspaper published in the United States. On page 71 of the present publication there is a reference to a "newspaper which is published in New York," and it is implied that the paper is printed in one of the Scandinavian languages, for it is stated that it has not proved to be very popular with the

Norwegians of the West, probably on account of its Pan-Scandinavian tendencies. Thanks to the kind assistance of Mr. Juul Dieserud of the Library of Congress, it has now been possible to locate at any rate some issues of this early publication and photostatic copies of these have been secured by the Norwegian-American Historical Association. The paper was *Skandinavia*, a bi-weekly, apparently published by a society of the same name in New York, founded on July 9, 1844. The editor was one Christian Hansen, from Norway.⁷ It is listed in W. Gregory's *Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada* (New York, 1927), with the additional information that the only known copies in some two hundred libraries are numbers 5 to 8 inclusive, found in the Library of Congress. The paper was printed in H. Ludwig's *Bogtrykkeri*, 70 Vesey Street, New York, and apparently started about January 1, 1847, since in number 5, dated March 15, 1847, excuse is made for the fact that only five numbers have appeared during the first quarter. Number 6, April 15, is admitted to be delayed; number 7 appeared on May 1, and number 8 on May 15. In number 8 it is announced that the paper now has about two hundred and twenty subscribers, eighty-three of whom live in the Pine Lake settlement in Wisconsin and elsewhere in the West. The editor appears to be optimistic and there is no indication that that issue was to be the last. From Munch Ræder's allusion, written sometime in the fall of 1847, it would seem that the paper was still being published, but the subscribers from the West, he tells us, had lost interest in the enterprise.

GUNNAR J. MALMIN

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DES MOINES, IOWA

⁷ *Stavanger Amstidende og Adresseavis*, July 2, 1847.

AMERICA IN THE FORTIES

I

FROM NEW YORK TO THE GREAT LAKES

MADISON, CAPITAL OF WISCONSIN TERRITORY,
September, 1847

On Wednesday, the fourteenth of July, we left New York and went by steamship up the Hudson River to Albany. The trip costs only half a dollar, and there are even some ships that charge only twenty-five cents. Last year the price was still a dollar and a half, and at one time it was as much as eight dollars. We went by rail from Albany to Buffalo, a distance of three hundred and seventy miles. The ticket costs twelve dollars, and, as is customary on the American railways, the expense does not become greater if the trip is broken up by stop-overs. Another characteristic of the American railways is that there is only one price for every one, there being no separate classes, as in Norway. Every car has a capacity of fifty or sixty people. The doors are at the two ends and there is an aisle connecting them, running the whole length of the car. It is therefore an easy matter to communicate with anyone in the car, even when the train is in motion. Each of the seats has room for four people, two facing each way. The seats are made of mahogany, and the entire furnishing of the car is, as a rule, quite attractive. Americans are famous for their spitting ability but I cannot say I have had the opportunity to admire it, at least not on the trains, where it is supposed to be particularly noticeable.

The trip on the Erie Canal, from Albany to Buffalo, costs only seven and a half dollars, including meals, and lasts a day longer than the journey by rail. This price, how-

ever, is only for ordinary travelers. The spirit of speculation has led to a rather material reduction in the price for immigrants. Some canal boats, I believe, transport them and their belongings for two dollars, but they have to provide their own food and the journey of eight or ten days becomes extremely monotonous.

The railroads, too, have made an exception in their case to the general rule of having only one class. Sometimes a large box car is added to the train, labeled in huge letters "IMMIGRANT CAR," and here the immigrants are piled together in grand confusion, with all their trunks and other belongings. In New York there are companies which arrange the entire journey for immigrants, making their profits through the large masses they transport, as well as whatever they can make through cheating—by dropping them off half way, and so on.

The consul general at New York has made a splendid arrangement for the immigrants whereby they may deposit a sum of six dollars and are then transported to Wisconsin by one of the most dependable companies, which is paid by the consulate upon notification from the immigrant that the company has faithfully discharged its obligations. This plan is announced to the immigrants upon their arrival in New York, but they are so suspicious—or perhaps so unsuspecting when it comes to the Yankees and their agents—that they seldom make use of this splendid means of securing a journey that is both cheap and safe. They cannot resist the temptation of an offer to transport them for a few cents less. The immigrant companies have in their service Norwegians and Swedes who carry on a very profitable business. On the steamship from Buffalo to Milwaukee, I met one of them who asserted that he had made forty dollars a month, but he had after a time scorned that sort of business. He told of a comrade who was able to clear about a hundred dollars a month in New York in the same busi-

ness. I do not know, of course, how much truth there is in such accounts. One of this year's immigrants told me that he, as well as the other members of his party, had come from New York for eight dollars through the assistance of the consulate, if I am not mistaken. The two dollars extra were occasioned by their traveling by rail, as every one should do who is not trying, first and foremost, to economize. What one saves through traveling by the canal route is really very little when one considers the expense of providing food for so many days.

Up the Hudson to Albany, as well as on the Great Lakes, there is only one means of travel, for immigrants as well as for others, and that is the steamship. Very few, except the immigrants, of course, are satisfied to be packed away in the space below deck; steamships, as a rule, do not follow the practice of the railways in having only one class. Often first class is on the upper deck, second class on the lower, and third class, for immigrants, mostly underneath the decks. The American steamship is quite different from the European. Imagine the deck of a European steamship turned upside down so that what was underneath now comes on top, and vice versa, and you will have some sort of idea as to what an American "steam-palace" is like. Instead of masts there are merely three or four iron rods on top of the structure, fastened together by wires; on top of these rods there are often gilded balls, American eagles, or the like. The part that towers highest is often the machinery, its pistons rising and falling with great regularity high up in the air. The elegance of such a ship is quite remarkable. In the ship "Louisiana," on which I made the voyage from Buffalo to Milwaukee, the upper deck is divided into two huge rooms, one for the ladies and one for the men. The latter also serves as a dining room. Both of them, but especially the first, are richly decorated and gilded and equipped with luxurious rosewood furniture covered with

red silk and velvet. Light is admitted partly through windows and glass doors at the ends, and partly through large glass domes overhead. Along the sides of both rooms are sleeping compartments; there are also family staterooms, each consisting of a bedroom and a little parlor with a sofa. A man and his wife can thus travel very comfortably and not pay more each than the poor single gentlemen, who are packed together, three of them to a room, where they have ample opportunity to reflect on the advantages of married life as well as on the patriotism shown by the steamship companies in thus encouraging people to marry. When one settles down in the West and finds that there marriage means not only happiness but also money, it is easy to see why many a man changes his mind and tries to find a wife. But, unfortunately, the heavy demand, as well as other circumstances, have made this commodity so scarce that a man may have to go back east in order to find one. In Milwaukee County in 1842 the ratio of men to women was five to three. I rather doubt, however, that the motives of the ship-owners are quite so subtle and sublime as that, in spite of their Yankee nature. Perhaps the arrangement may be ascribed to the unusual amount of consideration which is everywhere shown towards women. This tendency often goes to extremes. For example, if you are riding in an omnibus and a woman enters after all the seats are taken, you must immediately rise and offer her your seat, even if she be the kitchen-maid at the house where you are just going to have your dinner, and she accepts it as a matter of course without even thanking you, while you have to get along as well as you can, supporting yourself against the wall or the ceiling.

The sleeping compartments have doors, not only to the salons but also to a gallery which passes around the entire structure. The ship is equipped in every possible way for the convenience of the passengers; there is, for example, a

barber shop. There is also a band. Its performances on brass instruments we found none too good, but in the evenings it won general approval by presenting comical negro songs, accompanied by the guitar, and by playing dance music, to which the youthful Yankees executed their favorite cotillion, a sort of a quadrille, with many dainty skips and steps. There was also a good piano on board, on which those passengers who thought they knew anything about music frequently tried their skill—more to the horror and dismay than to the enjoyment of their fellow passengers. It was strange to see how easy it was to induce these American ladies, noted in Europe for their prudery and finicality, to play or sing for this audience of absolute strangers from every corner of the earth.

And now, finally, to get at a very important item, both the food and the service, provided by negro servants, were as good as can be found in the best hotels; and the cost was remarkably small, only ten dollars for the whole voyage from Buffalo to Milwaukee, which took four days. Such a voyage on the Great Lakes, accordingly, does not cost much more than a stay of the same duration at one of the best hotels. The price is, by the way, the same to Milwaukee as to Chicago, ninety miles farther.

Let me say that I really should not yet be describing my voyage on the Lakes, because, where I left off in my story, we had just arrived at Buffalo, a busy and rapidly growing city, as indeed may be said of every city in the West which serves as a terminal for important lines of communication.

We could not, of course, continue our trip west without having seen Niagara. After we had made our reservations on the steamship, which was to leave Monday evening, we took a train to the little town situated at the falls. There are two railroads, one driven by steam, the other drawn by horses; we chose the first. We took rooms at the Cataract House, near the falls, where there is a deafening noise and

a splendid view. Our first excursion was across a bridge to Goat Island, surrounded by the foaming rapids which the river forms in the last mile before it reaches the falls proper. Everything about the place is wonderful; even the bridge, plain as it is, is said to be quite remarkable for the skilful way in which its stone piers have been placed in the rushing current. At several places there are devices to help one get a good view. There is a sort of bridge which extends a distance over the edge of the precipice, but it seems so very unsubstantial that one is almost afraid to go out on it and only after some little time does one venture out to the edge, where, however, a most excellent view is obtained. Not far from the Cataract House there is a high, flimsy wooden tower, from the top of which a splendid view is obtained and where one can see it all in "camera obscura."

But it is only the so-called American Falls which one sees in their full glory from Goat Island, or from the American side as a whole. The greater part of the water passes over "Horseshoe Falls," so called because they have the shape of a horseshoe, lying between the Canadian side and Goat Island. Near the island the falls make a rather deep incision, which, naturally, is best seen from the Canadian side, where a plateau called "Table Rock," projecting out over the falls, gives one a splendid opportunity to enjoy the effect of the whole. The trip to the Canadian side is made in boats, which leave from a point just below the falls; access to them on the American side is made easy by a funicular railway, one car ascending as the other descends. This railway is protected from the spray by a roof, but on the boat one has to get along as well as one can, with umbrella and raincoat. We made this trip on a Sunday afternoon. We had spent the forenoon enjoying the views in the vicinity of our hotel. At Table Rock one may climb down and view the falls from below and walk behind them. We decided to spend our half-dollar apiece to try the experiment,

for which it is necessary to undress and put on the clothes rented for this purpose. These, however, had such an uninviting appearance that we quite lost our desire. We decided to wait until the next day and go underneath the American Falls, where everything is said to be much better, and so we merely climbed down to the water below the falls and approached as close as we could without getting soaked. Unfortunately the next day was quite cold and rainy, so there could be no pleasure in such an expedition, particularly as on such a day the falls lack much of the splendor which is caused by the rays of the sun and the many rainbows, and which they had on Sunday. We had to content ourselves with exploring the attractions of Goat Island a second time, and we took a walk around the southern end, where the river forms rapids.

I have not yet mentioned the most interesting way of seeing the falls. That is to go on board a little steamboat, "The Maid of the Mist," which starts out several times a day from a point about a mile to the south,¹ passes by the American Falls, where one has to get inside of one of the cabins to avoid being soaked by the spray or blown overboard (pardon the exaggeration) by the wind one always encounters there; then the boat passes below the Horseshoe Falls, which one has to respect still more. Soon after the boat has arrived at the foot of the huge, milk-white cauldron, it turns around; and, before one has time to collect his thoughts, it is heading downstream at breakneck speed. Then, after stopping at the Canadian side to land passengers, it returns to its starting point on the American side. The trip is one of the most beautiful one can find anywhere. One has the falls in sight all the time.

Of considerable interest are the collections of Indian handiwork for sale in a number of stores in the village and on

¹ Ræder is confused here. Points below the falls on the Niagara River are north, not south, of the falls.

Goat Island. There are embroideries of a special style and baskets and the like, made of bark, with figures of colored hair. At one store was a chieftain's skin-coat, decorated with all kinds of figures and ornaments. Among other things there were attached a few beautiful locks of hair, said to have belonged to women slain by the owner of the coat. It also bore a silver medal, probably awarded the chieftain by the British government during the reign of George III, whose image it bore. This coat is said to have been sold at one time and thus to have come into the possession of a museum at Philadelphia, but, as the whole tribe mourned and begged to have their treasure returned to them, the coat was given back. Now it is just lent to the American merchant who has it, and who carries on a considerable trade with the Indians; and it is not for sale.

Unfortunately it was not until Sunday afternoon that we learned that there is an Indian village a few miles north of Niagara, where English services are held on Sundays, the sermon being translated for the congregation by one of the chiefs. I did, however, see a number of these people at the falls, particularly squaws, who were trying to sell various pieces of handiwork.

I hope you are not expecting a real description of Niagara itself, and the impression it makes on those who see it. I have no intention, at any rate, of exerting myself in that direction. If you are not satisfied with the general idea you get by imagining the most beautiful falls in Norway, enlarged and beautified to three times its present size and majesty—then try reading Raumer's description,² for example, or, if you prefer poetry, there is an abundance of American poems which I shall send you if you so desire. It

² *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Leipzig, 1845) by Friedrich Ludwig Georg von Raumer, professor of history at the University of Berlin. An English translation by William W. Turner, *America and the American People*, was published in New York in 1846. The description of Niagara Falls occurs on pages 453-456.

seems as though lady poets have a special liking for this gigantic phenomenon, and there is a goodly number of them in spite of the common accusation that America has no literature; one of the most prominent poets is Mrs. Sigourney.³

³ Lydia Huntley Sigourney (1791-1865) was a Connecticut writer of both prose and poetry. See her biography in Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck, eds., *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, 2:135-139 (New York, 1866). On pages 55 and 56 of Thomas B. Read's *Female Poets of America* (New York, 1890) is found her poem, "Niagara," the first stanza of which follows:

Flow on forever, in thy glorious robe
Of terror and of beauty. Yea, flow on,
Unfathomed and resistless. God hath set
His rainbow on thy forehead. And He doth give
Thy voice of thunder power to speak of Him
Eternally—bidding the lip of man
Keep silence—and upon thine altar pour
Incense of awe-struck praise.

II

MILWAUKEE AND MUSKEGO

Now I believe I have fully prepared the way for starting on my trip on the Lakes; and, in the nature of the case, I can make my account quite brief. After having returned from Niagara by the same railroad that took us out there, we went on board our ship and left at ten o'clock in the evening. The next morning we stopped a few hours at Erie to get coal and later we stopped at Cleveland and a few other cities, but only for a very short time. On Wednesday we passed the straits and Lake St. Clair, situated between Lake Erie and Lake Huron, and on Thursday afternoon we arrived at Mackinac, an island with a fort built at its highest point, situated on the straits connecting Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. Here we had planned on changing to a steamship on Lake Superior to see the remarkable copper mines located near that lake. But the weather was so cold and rainy that we decided to drop that part of our plans.¹

We therefore remained on our comfortable boat until we reached Milwaukee the next evening, where we went ashore. The voyage along the coast of Wisconsin was most beautiful. Here and there, even in the northern part, the trees had been cleared away and cozy-looking houses met our eyes. The port Sheboygan had a particularly attractive appearance; here, also, we had a glimpse of the natives, as two Indians wearing blankets came down to the ship.

Now, at last, we had arrived in Milwaukee, the flourishing emporium of a large part of the West, so richly blessed by nature. It is said to rank first among American cities for

¹ Literally, "to let that bird fly."

the energy and the rapidity with which it has grown; a few years ago it was merely a nameless spot in the wilderness. Up to 1835 there were but two families living there, one that of a Frenchman by the name of Juneau,² who carried on a fur trade with the Indians and had married one of their women. He surely never dreamed at that time that, within a few years, without moving from the spot, he would suddenly find himself living in a quite respectable city, of which he himself would be the mayor. And yet, such proved to be the case. The Sauk War, in 1833, served particularly to call the attention of the federal government and of the public in general to these tracts, where hitherto, except for the few older French settlements at Green Bay, Mineral Point, and Prairie du Chien, there were only a few bold American adventurers here and there, who had settled among the natives. The Indians were pushed back several times and finally suffered a decisive defeat on the banks of the Mississippi, on which occasion their chief, Black Hawk, was captured. He was taken to Washington as a prisoner, but was soon released. He dictated his autobiography before his death in 1840; he was buried near the Mississippi.

After this victory over the Indians, the government surveyed the land and offered it for sale. Thus it was that the stream of immigration was turned in this direction, and since then it has increased tremendously. In 1838 the population of Wisconsin was 18,000; in 1842 it was 42,000; in 1845 it was as high as 117,000, according to the estimate by counties made by members of the legislature; and, in 1846, it was over 150,000. I have heard that this year the population will increase about 50,000, and this does not seem at all improbable, when we consider the steady stream

² Solomon Juneau (1793-1856) settled on the site of Milwaukee in 1818. He became postmaster in 1835, first president of the village of Milwaukee in 1837, and first mayor of the city in 1846. Isabella Fox, *Solomon Juneau* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1916).

from the East, not only of immigrants but of Americans as well. One gets some idea of the extent of immigration from the statistics for the year beginning August 1, 1846, and ending July 31, 1847, which show that 152,116 immigrants landed at New York during this period: 2,091 were from Norway and Sweden; 23,779 from French ports, from which, as you know, many Norwegians come; 15,525 from Bremen and Hamburg; and 88,733 from British ports. Many of these have undoubtedly come to Wisconsin. Under such circumstances one can easily imagine what a spirited sale there must be of government land priced at a dollar and a quarter per acre. I recently saw an account of the receipts at the Milwaukee land office for one week. They amounted to \$175,000! Just now the fall immigration by way of Milwaukee is beginning, and a recent issue of a newspaper of that city reports that every steamship which arrives—and there are steamships every day—brings so many newcomers that they could make quite a respectable little town of their own. The newspaper says it is amusing to watch them go up through the streets in great throngs and it compares them to the tribes of Israel on their entry into the Promised Land. I, too, saw a group of them moving along, in grand confusion, with their heavily loaded wagons, and I think the comparison is very apt.

Milwaukee has a population of eleven or twelve thousand, about a dozen churches, a beautiful courthouse, a land office, a bank, seventy lawyers(!), and so on. The price of lots is said to have increased fivefold or more during the past five years. There is only one other American city, namely, Rochester, New York, which has been compared with it for rapidity of growth; but the Milwaukee citizens have proved that the pretensions of Rochester in this respect are quite unfounded. One of the results of this rapid growth is that the city has "sights" of a quite peculiar nature—for example, a sixteen- or seventeen-year-old boy is

the oldest person native to the place. I believe he is a son of Mr. Juneau, who, by the way, is still living and is in the best of health.

One of the first things we did in Milwaukee was, naturally, to look for fellow-countrymen. It was easy to find them, and in large numbers, too. Just a few steps from the hotel we found a group of people whose language and appearance revealed their nationality. We soon heard, as we have since become so accustomed to do, complaints of sickness, hard work, and homesickness, alongside of expressions of satisfaction with the good wages and the low cost of provisions, as well as the hope that their condition, on the whole, would become better.

We visited a Norwegian painter by the name of Norbo, who hitherto had kept a lodging-house for immigrants, but he was about to give it up because he found that his building, or, at any rate, its equipment, suffered too much thereby. A Swede, or a Dane, had a similar establishment; but he, too, was about to give it up. Norbo had built two houses and seemed to be prospering. A number of Norwegians find employment at the shipyard, where, on the whole, they are well paid, though, of course, according to their respective abilities. One of them, by the name of Roswald, whom we visited, earns from \$1.25 to \$1.75 a day; he has built a little house of his own and is married to a beautiful young girl from Gausdal, who now has a very ladylike appearance. A relative of this man—his brother, I believe—works at the same place and earns \$1.25 a day. A skipper's wife from Southport [*Kenosha*] a few miles south of Milwaukee, told me that her husband employed a Norwegian as cabin-boy at twelve dollars a month; the skipper himself received sixty dollars a month. Navigation on the Great Lakes, however, is said to be quite difficult and is carried on almost exclusively during the summer. Quite near our hotel there was a Norwegian storekeeper by the name of

Frøiseth, whose wife was a woman from Trondhjem³ with the maiden name of Tollefsen. When I entered the store she exclaimed in a loud voice, "Aren't you Munch Ræder?" I was not a little surprised to find that anyone knew me out in these parts, and I could not at once make out who she might be. We soon became good friends, however. Løvenskjold⁴ and his wife came there, also, and Frøiseth did his best to make things pleasant for them. According to what he told us, he must be a rather well-to-do man. He even showed us a statement of his financial condition, which, he said, he just happened to have made out. The outward signs, however, told a different story and I really felt sorry for his wife, because she must have a hard time of it, with a husband who is none too good, and five little children, I believe. Frøiseth seemed to sell all sorts of goods, and everything was in grand confusion—sugar, coffee, trousers, and shoes scattered about at random, and huge kegs were standing over against the wall.

Løvenskjold's chief aim was to find a man qualified to serve as vice-consul. A man by the name of Lange had volunteered his services, but he was said to be a Swede, and it was better to get a Norwegian for this position; in addition, he was merely a clerk in a store—in other words, not an independent man. Frøiseth found occasion during the conversation to take a few flings at him, and tried to make us see that he, Frøiseth, was far better qualified for the position. Probably neither one of them will get it as neither of them has any too good a reputation. A painter by the name of Sjøberg seemed to be a far more suitable candidate. We had heard him spoken of everywhere in the interior as a good, capable man. To be sure, there is said to be some-

³ The remainder of this paragraph as well as all of the following was not published in the *Rigstidende*, but is taken from the manuscript letter in the possession of Dr. Ulrik Anton Ræder. See *ante*, p. vi.

⁴ Adam Løvenskjold, Ræder's companion on part of his journey. See *ante*, p. xv.

thing dubious in his past, somewhat after the manner of Fribert;⁵ it is said that he is Danish, and that he used to be an assessor, or something on that order, and that his name at one time was Berg or Borg, but we could get no definite information on the subject. It is rather doubtful, indeed, if any vice-consul will be appointed at all. It is a matter, by the way, which does not have to be acted upon by our government, but is simply left to the decision of the consul general. The trouble is that such a vice-consulate would in many respects be extraordinary, as we have no trade relations with the territory, and the office would be of greater benefit to the Americans than to us. It is also somewhat doubtful if the American government would recognize such a man and give him any power to act. Perhaps some of the things I have said on this subject have made Løvenskjold hesitate in carrying out his plans, and he wishes to talk the matter over with Buchanan, the secretary of state at Washington, before he makes any final decision.

The next day, which was Sunday, a driver called for us in the morning with a coach drawn by two horses and, after a drive of a couple of hours towards the southwest, we arrived at the Norwegian settlement at Muskego Lake.⁶ The first people whom we met were a couple from Tinn, both of

⁵ Lauritz Jacob Fribert was born in Zealand, Denmark, in 1808. He took his B. A. degree in 1825 and completed his study of law in 1829. Later, as treasurer of a school district in Denmark, he became involved in some dishonest practice, upon the exposure of which he emigrated to America in 1843. In 1847 he published his *Haandbog for Emigranter til Amerikas Vest*. Halvorsen, *Norsk Forfatter-Lexikon*, 2: 332 (Christiania, 1885).

⁶ Muskego Lake, the site of the second Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin, is located about twenty miles southwest of Milwaukee, including parts of Racine, Milwaukee, and Waukesha counties. The settlement was made in the summer of 1839 by forty people from Tinn, a district in Telemarken, in southeastern Norway. The situation seemed suitable enough in the summer when everything was dried up, but when the fall rains came, the people discovered that they had settled on marshy ground. As a consequence, the settlement was particularly exposed to cholera and malaria. Claus L. Clausen organized a congregation and the first Nor-

whom seemed greatly pleased with the visit. True-hearted and simple, just as we find our countrymen here and there up among the mountains in Norway, they had preserved their customs, dress, and general arrangement of the house unchanged, as well as their language. They served us with excellent milk and whatever else they had; and, when they had become confident that we were altogether Norwegian, they also brought some excellent *flatbrød*,⁷ made of wheat, which they had at first held back because "these Yankees"⁸ are so ready to make fun of it. The Yankee who was with us, however, seemed very well pleased with it when we let him try it. On a later occasion we induced him to try another dish, just as Norwegian and just as unfamiliar to him, namely, *fløtegrøt*,⁹ which he declared "first-rate" as he licked his lips. Our friends from Tinn were well satisfied with their condition; they had managed so well during the first four years that they had paid off the debt that they had incurred and now they already had a little surplus.

We next visited, among others, Even Heg, who seems to be one of the leaders among the Norwegians in these parts.¹⁰ He is said to be a Haugean and he was away at-

wegian Lutheran church in America was erected there in 1843. Olaf M. Norlie, *History of the Norwegian People in America*, 160 (Minneapolis, 1925); Rasmus B. Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 266-299 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1896); A. O. Barton, "The Muskego Settlement," in the *Waukesha Freeman* (Waukesha, Wisconsin), September 7, 14, 21, 1916; George T. Flom, *Norwegian Immigration to the United States*, 119-121 (Iowa City, Iowa, 1909).

⁷ *Flatbrød* is a thin, brittle cake made usually of rye or barley flour and water.

⁸ The original reads "disse Yankian."

⁹ *Fløtegrøt* is a rich porridge made of cream and flour.

¹⁰ Even Heg came to Muskego in 1840 and soon became the recognized leader of the settlement. His son, Hans C. Heg, distinguished himself in the Civil War as colonel of the Fifteenth Wisconsin, a volunteer regiment the membership of which was over ninety per cent Norwegian. Colonel Heg was killed in action at the battle of Chickamauga, on September 20, 1863. Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 278-283; Theodore C. Blegen, "Colonel Hans Christian Heg," in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 4: 140-165 (December, 1920).

tending a devotional meeting when we reached his house.¹¹ He, too, seemed satisfied with the state of his affairs. He did not feel very friendly towards Reiersen, who, in his opinion, had given exaggerated accounts of the unhealthful conditions at Muskego and had thereby frightened the later Norwegian immigrants to such an extent that they not only would not settle there but they even went miles out of their way to avoid going through the place.¹² Mr. Heg, by the way, has earned the gratitude of the Norwegians in Wisconsin by starting a printing establishment on his own farm, with the assistance of Mr. Bache, a financier from Drammen, who lives with him. Here they publish the Norwegian-Wisconsin newspaper, *Nordlyset*, edited by Mr. Reymert.¹³ It is without doubt a very good idea through such a medium

¹¹ The Haugeans were followers of Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824), the great pietist-reformer in Norway. A. Christian Bang, *Hans Nielsen Hauge og hans Samtid* (third edition, Christiania, 1910); Andreas Seierstad, *Kyrkjelegt Reformarbeid i Norig i Nittande Hundre-aaret*, 1: 167-197 (Bergen, 1923).

¹² Johan Reinert Reiersen (1810-1864) was for some years editor of *Christiansandsposten* in Norway and of the periodical *Norge og Amerika*, which appeared in 1845 and 1846. In both publications Reiersen printed information about America. In 1843 he made a trip to America to find out what localities were best suited for Norwegian immigrants. Upon his return to Norway in 1844 he published at Christiania his *Veiviser for norske Emigranter til de forenede nordamerikanske Stater og Texas*, a volume of 166 pages. Both in this volume and in *Norge og Amerika*, he warns immigrants of the unhealthful climate at Muskego. In 1847 Reiersen became the founder of important Norwegian settlements in Texas. See Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 369-382, and Flom, *Norwegian Immigration*, 86-87. A translation by Theodore C. Blegen of chapter 10 of Reiersen's *Veiviser* appears under the title "Norwegians in the West in 1844: a Contemporary Account," in Norwegian-American Historical Association, *Studies and Records*, 1: 110-125 (Minneapolis, 1926).

¹³ Søren Bache, son of Tollef O. Bache, wealthy merchant and prominent pietist at Drammen, Norway, came to Muskego in 1840 after a winter spent in the older Fox River settlement in Illinois. Some years after his arrival he accidentally shot and killed a woman. Almost crazed with grief, he returned to Norway. His diary has recently been acquired by St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, and will appear in English translation in one of the publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association. At present it is being published serially in *Norsk*

to maintain a cultural link between the Norwegians here and the mother country, as well as among themselves. Every one, indeed, who would like to see them preserve their national characteristics and their memories of their native land as long as possible must, first and foremost, turn his attention to the problem of preserving their language by keeping it constantly before their eyes and ears.

As you know, I cannot convince myself that all these countrymen of ours, as they leave our own country, are to be regarded as completely lost and as strangers to us. On the contrary, I believe that they are carrying on a great national mission—in accordance with the wishes of Providence, working through their instinctive desire to wander. Their mission consists in proclaiming to the world that the people of the Scandinavian countries, who in former days steered their course over every sea and even found their

Ungdom (Minneapolis), beginning with the January, 1928, issue of that magazine.

Nordlyset—"the Northern Light"—published at Muskego, Wisconsin, from 1847 to 1849, was the first Norwegian paper published in the West. In 1849 it was bought by Hatlestad and Knud Langeland, and the name was changed to *Democraten*. Carl Hansen, "Pressen til Borgerkrigens Slutning," in Johannes B. Wist, ed., *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift, 1914*, 9-10 (Decorah, Iowa, 1914).

James Denoon Reymert was born in Farsund, Norway, in 1821. After spending some years in Scotland, his mother's native land, he emigrated to America in 1842, and soon became a leader in the Muskego settlement. He served as editor of *Nordlyset* from 1847 to 1849. He was made a member of the Wisconsin constitutional convention in 1847, of the legislature in 1849, and of the Senate in 1854-1855 and 1857. He is thought to have been the first Norwegian to hold an American state office. He built a plank road over the Muskego marshes and established saw-mills. At various times he served as justice of the peace, superintendent of schools, vice-consul for Sweden and Norway, presidential elector, receiver and tax collector, and United States disbursing agent. He was a Democratic candidate for Congress. In 1861 he established a law office in New York, and in 1872 he went to Chile, South America. Three years later he returned to the United States and organized in Arizona the Reymert Silver Mining Company. President Cleveland appointed him a judge. He died at Los Angeles in 1896. Hansen in Wist, *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift*, 10-12.

way to the distant shores of Vinland and Hvidmannaland, have not been blotted out from among the peoples of the earth, nor have they degenerated.¹⁴ After having regained their independence, so that they again can show themselves in the world, they come to demand their place in that country upon which their fathers cast the first ray of light, no matter how flickering and uncertain, and to take part in the great future which is in store for this youthful, but already mighty, republic. Let them become Americans, as is the duty of holders of American soil, but this need not prevent them from remaining Norwegian for a long time to come. The American character is not yet so fixed and established that it excludes all others. The Americans are satisfied with demanding a few general traits of political rather than of really national significance. Under such lenient influences, the aliens are elevated and improved, rather than changed; they lose their sharp edges and adopt some of the good qualities of others. Even if America, fulfilling also in this respect a great and providential purpose, shall in the end absorb and mold together into a compact whole all the various nationalities which now are making their contributions in such rich measure, and shall not only blot out the many prejudices which now separate people in their home countries but also absorb some of the individual characteristics which now constitute the peculiar qualities of each nation, even if such be the case, then surely it will be for us, as well as for every other European nation, not merely a source of satisfaction as an historical fact, but perhaps also, in the course of events, a factor of real benefit that our Scandinavian North has become one of the parent nations for this nation to whose lot will undoubtedly some day fall the place of leadership in the affairs of the world.

There are, even now, so many of our people out here in

¹⁴ Hvittrmannaland, like Vinland, is a name that occurs in the Norse records of Viking journeys to America.

the West that they already appear as a group and thereby are protected against influences foreign to themselves, because their relationship to one another is stronger than their relationship to other races. But if this condition is to be at all lasting, there must be more intelligence among them; they must realize that this instinct of theirs is quite consistent with good sense and honor; they must learn to appreciate their own nationality more than they do and to cause others to respect it, too. For these reasons the establishment of a press among them is undoubtedly of the greatest importance. The reading material they have had so far in their own language, with the exception of the few books they brought with them, and what has been sent to them for their religious instruction by upright men in Norway, has consisted, for the most part, of a few religious and moral pamphlets, printed by the Episcopalian religious tract society in New York.

The question now will be if there are men who are able and willing to use this means of instructing and influencing their countrymen. Unfortunately it cannot be denied that such men are few and far between—if, indeed, there are any. The natural result of the fact that so far almost exclusively men of the least educated classes have emigrated from our country will probably make itself felt in the use they make of their press. This tendency will be all the stronger because of the fact that the great majority of people, influenced by the examples round about them, realize the need of progress and of getting away from the sense of inferiority, which they now undoubtedly feel, and rightly enough, towards the Americans in so many respects. I do not know whether the present editor is adequate to his task, or can become so, because the two issues I have seen are scarcely fair samples by which to judge. At least, I should rather not do so because I prefer to give the compositor and the proof-reader the blame for as much as possible and,

although there will still be enough blame left for the editor, we must at the same time bear in mind that he has spent the greater part of his life away from Norway (in Scotland, I believe), so that he may well be a cultured man in spite of the peculiarities that appear in his paper. Consequently, with the aid of a little will power, he may be able to remedy these faults; and we must not use too severe standards in judging an undertaking which is in itself most commendable, but which is surrounded by external difficulties. It will be a more serious fault if he lacks that capacity, which, for an editor, is of more importance than personal ability—the capacity to secure the coöperation of whatever cultural ability is available. If this is the case, as I am inclined to fear, then the undertaking must be regarded as a failure. In that case, its only usefulness lies in the fact that it may stimulate interest in this sort of thing and thus open the way for a more capable person. At any rate, the journal is there now and can do good in a number of other ways. It is hardly to be doubted that it will take up a discussion of the public institutions of the country, make our countrymen familiar with the conditions which exist around about them, and thus put an end to the indifference which most, if not all of them, now show in this respect.

III

THE NORWEGIANS AND AMERICAN POLITICS

I have been greatly interested in finding out how far the Norwegians have progressed in their understanding of American affairs, for example, as to the differences between the political parties. I must say I believe they have not reached beyond the first rudiments of a republican education. To be sure, I shall not lay too much stress on the fact that a couple of them called the government price on land "the king's price," because it would be stretching the point a bit to charge a mere thoughtless expression to their political ignorance; even in Norway there are still many who, following a custom dating from the time of Christian VII, speak of "the king," when they should say "the state." On the other hand, there are undoubtedly not a few to whom can be applied what an American told me of one whom he had asked if he were a Whig or a Democrat. The American had soon discovered after questioning the Norwegian about the meaning of the terms, and particularly about what he had against the Whig doctrine concerning banks and the protection of industry, that the man did not have the least idea that these matters were the main issues involved in the political struggle. If he had been asked not if he were a Democrat, with which expression he is well acquainted from his home country, but if he were a Locofoco, he would presumably at once have admitted his inability to answer.

It is the common accusation of the Whigs against the Locofocos that they decoy the immigrants to their side at the elections and on other public occasions where voting is done through the use they make of the name Democrat, which

the Whigs claim rightfully belongs to themselves. Especially the Irishmen and the Germans are deceived in this manner, while, on the other hand, it has been observed that the Englishmen, who have a constitutional education and have learned to think for themselves, or, as the Locofocos would say, have been corrupted by the aristocracy which infests Great Britain, willingly take sides with the Whigs. The Norwegians, as already stated, often understand the true state of affairs just as little as do the Irishmen and the Germans, and most of them if asked will affirm that they are Democrats, but most of them, on the other hand, seem to be sensible enough not to be enticed into voting either for the one party or the other until they have learned a little more about what they stand for. Furthermore, most of them have as yet had no opportunity to vote, because it is necessary to have lived five years in the country and to have renounced all allegiance to their mother country in order to obtain American citizenship.

Thus almost the only opportunity to vote that the great mass of the Norwegians have had was on the question of the proposed constitution [of Wisconsin], on which the legislature declared that every man over twenty-one years who had been six months in the territory and had declared his intention of becoming a citizen should be entitled to vote. On the occasion of the election of members to the assembly summoned last winter to prepare the constitution, I understand that the votes of the Norwegians were much divided, and I have not been able to find out whether the Whigs or the Locofocos won the majority among them. At Koshkonong Prairie the Whigs are said to have voted for the candidates of the opposite party.¹ To be sure, I have heard

¹ Koshkonong, the third and largest of the Norwegian settlements in Wisconsin, is located in the southeastern part of Dane County. Norwegian settlement began there in 1840. Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 326-356; Flom, *Norwegian Immigration*, chapters 18-20.

that the Locofocos in the neighboring town of Janesville had done not a little to gain the favor of the Norwegians by collecting about a hundred dollars toward the erection of their church, but the Norwegians of course deny that this had any influence on them, and I really do not know what the truth of the matter is. Be that as it may, the support of the Norwegians for the Locofocos did not extend further than strictly to the support of their candidates in the election. When the constitution was framed and came up for a referendum of all the voting citizens, most of the Norwegians at Rock Prairie and, as far as I have discovered, the great majority of the Norwegians in the whole territory voted against it. Their votes were not without influence, because the Norwegian population, according to what I have heard from dependable men in the various settlements, must be at the very least six thousand, and presumably seven or eight thousand.

The outcome of the whole affair was that the constitution was rejected and as a result Wisconsin must still be content to be classed as a territory without the privileges of a state. The truth of the matter is that the Locofocos, who made up the majority of the assembly, were a little too ambitious and passed regulations which offended both the common sense and the prejudices of the people, so that many allowed themselves to thrust aside party considerations and vote quite independently. There was, indeed, such a turmoil in the camp of the Locofocos themselves that it was generally declared that the votes on the adoption or rejection of the constitution could not be taken as a true test of party strength. Every Loco was permitted to vote against the constitution without being struck off the list of party members. Thus it happened, in spite of the fact that the Locofocos have the majority in this territory, that their constitution was rejected because of its rather far-fetched provisions, much to the joy of the Whigs.

This was, as already stated, almost the first political affair in which the Norwegians took any real part; and, as far as I know, it was the first time that any official notice was taken of them, through the publication and circulation at public expense of a Norwegian translation of the draft of the constitution. I have obtained a copy of this remarkable document and shall bring it home with me. The translation is said to be the work of a Dane at Milwaukee, and it is, by the way, a rather poor job. Several circulars by private citizens were also spread among them, stressing the good or the bad features of the constitution. One of these is said to have been written by a Danish painter, Sjøborg (or some such name), at Milwaukee; it takes a stand against the constitution and its composition bears evidence of a man of considerable ability and familiarity with conditions. Mr. Reymert is also said to have written a circular against the constitution. A third, in support of the draft, is said to be a translation of a German or English original and to be the work of the same man who translated the draft itself. I have not read these last two. The objections which seem to have borne the most weight with the Norwegians were concerned with what a couple of them, when I inquired as to their motives, spoke of as the "women's law" and the "money-law";² married women were to be given the right to separate property, and paper money was outlawed. Furthermore, twenty-four acres or property to the value of a thousand dollars was made exempt from distraint for debts. I think, however, that these regulations were by no means the worst provisions in the constitution. I am sure I should not have hesitated to vote for the provision in regard to the property of married women, since it is by no means an absolute and unqualified rule. The provision as to distraint goes a little too far, perhaps, and would prob-

² *Kjærringloven* and *Pengelovent*.

ably have reduced credit in a territory which as yet is almost entirely dependent on eastern capital; but it cannot be denied that the humane experiments made by New York in this direction are well worth copying. On the other hand, I should most certainly not have voted for the absolute prohibition of banks, although it is easy to understand that people in the West have become alarmed as the result of the bitter experiences they have had with the disastrous effects of giving the banks a free hand. In Illinois, where a new constitution is just being formulated, the constitutional assembly is said to have discovered a quite novel method of dealing with this situation; it does not absolutely forbid the establishment of banks, but every new venture in this respect is to be brought to a referendum in the primary assemblies. The people are now about to vote on the adoption of the new constitution, and plans are being made to have it printed in English, German, and Norwegian.

The chief objection raised by the Locofocos against banks is the same in Illinois as here and everywhere in America, namely, that they will encourage the growth of an aristocracy, and it is, for that matter, the same question which at an earlier period split the people in the whole Union when the national bank was being discussed. It is an affair which extends back to the time when the national constitution was formulated, and the attitude of the parties on this as well as on almost every other problem of importance has changed so often that it is easy enough to get it all confused; one really cannot blame a Norwegian much if he is not at once able to decide whether he ought to be a Whig or a Loco. Nevertheless it is interesting to follow the course of the more recent events in this country, and especially for a Norwegian, because the development in so many respects resembles that which has taken place in our own country—much more than in any other European country. The tendencies of their political parties much resemble those of our own,

although differing on so many points. After the Federalists had become unpopular, the name "Democrats," which at first very few cared to use, became more and more popular as the principles of the constitution developed and the sovereignty of the majority became more and more recognized. Both parties, naturally, claim to be the true Democrats and call the opposing party Federalists. "We," the Whigs declare, "are the descendants of Jefferson, who wished to protect industry, of Madison and Monroe, who established the National Bank; these very men you praise to the skies as Democrats! We are the ones who are complaining of the authority your Locofoco president is assuming in carrying on his unfortunate and destructive war with Mexico."

No matter what name the respective parties assume, it is certain that the Locos, who now are in power at Washington, have reduced the tariff and destroyed the national bank, and their president has vetoed a bill providing for the construction of harbors and the like on the Great Lakes at government expense. It is also certain that if anyone tries to remain neutral, he merely exposes himself to the hatred of both parties. It is much the same as in ancient Athens and, to some extent, in Norway at the present time—very difficult to remain outside of a party. To be sure, there is no legal punishment for it, but the press at once picks up such an individual and places him in a party which is called the "no-party" party, and gives him thus an exemplary punishment. Foreigners are, thank goodness, an exception to the rule, unless they intend to become American citizens. To be on the safe side, though, I have declared myself to be a Whig, which I can do quite honestly, as I really must give this party my preference in the two main issues involved. *Nordlyset* declares that it wishes to remain nonpartisan, and has rejected attempts to make it a prohibition paper. It is strange, by the way, that there are so few who have ventured to belong to the one party on one issue and to the

other party on the other. I have been assured that such a thing simply does not occur; and yet there is no other connection between the two questions of banks and protective tariff than the rather far-fetched one, that factories and banks could center fortunes in the hands of a few individuals and thus create a sort of aristocracy. While the question dealt with a *national* bank, to be sure, the case was somewhat different, because the rights of the central government were involved. The fact of the matter is that the party organizations are so well established that very few venture beyond the traditional regulations and arguments.

IV

POLITICS AND LANGUAGE IN THE WEST

Here in Wisconsin party loyalty will soon be put to a severe test when a delegate to Congress is to be elected. A convention was held by the Locos a few months ago and, after a few days' debate, a Mr. Strong won the majority and became the candidate of that party, and thus it becomes the duty of every Loco paper and every Loco speaker to recommend him. However, not only do the Whigs declare this man to be a gambler and a drunkard, but the Locos themselves admit this, and he was even indicted by a grand jury on these charges last winter. It is also a notorious fact that he was continually absent from the last legislative assembly, of which he was a member, and, after he had been fetched from the saloons here in Madison, he made himself obnoxious through his tumultuous behavior. Thus at one time he wanted to thrash one of his fellow members and the Whigs claim that there is still a mark on one of the pillars from the cane which he threw at his enemy—I must confess that I have not been able to find it, however. Furthermore, it is held against him that in 1842, when one of the members of the Senate, Mr. Vineyard, took the liberty of shooting one of his colleagues in the assembly itself, he was the only one who opposed the expulsion of the murderer. Finally it is proved that a few years ago, as treasurer of the territory, he took money from the treasury to be paid at St. Louis, but, instead of sending it directly, he invested it in lead and tried to sell it to his own profit in St. Louis. The speculation proved a failure, however, and he lost about two thousand dollars, which he finally suc-

ceeded in paying back several years later. In 1843 the legislature passed a rather severe law against speculation with public funds and the Whig papers now rather maliciously state that, if this law had been in force at the time of the lead purchase, Mr. Strong would not at present be in a position to attempt to force his way into Congress "unless he had already served his time."¹

Such is the man for whom the Locos are putting up their fight. They deny nothing. They only affirm that they are certain that he will now mend his ways, morally speaking. As far as the attempt at assault is concerned, they only regret that he did not succeed. And the lead speculation was merely an act of indiscretion which is not worth mentioning now that every cent has been paid back. On the other hand, there are Loco papers which declare that they found it rather difficult to reconcile themselves to having him as their candidate, but now that he has actually won the majority they find it their duty to "swallow him" as well as they may and devote their best efforts in his behalf. There are undoubtedly a large number of Locos who simply cannot "swallow him" and, consequently, will either have to refrain from voting or else vote for the opposing candidate,

¹ Moses M. Strong, a Yankee who settled at Mineral Point, Wisconsin, was a lawyer, land speculator, promoter, and politician. "Nearly all men of the period drank strong liquor, and on occasion a goodly proportion were not averse to gambling; it is not without significance, therefore, that even in such an age Strong gained an ill-starred reputation for devotion to these contemporary practices." In 1847, when he was the Democratic candidate for delegate to Congress, "he suffered the peculiar humiliation of being beaten by Tweedy, the Whig candidate, without the latter's troubling himself about making a canvass."

"James Vineyard in the council chamber of the capitol in 1842 shot down a fellow member in cold blood; not only was he never punished for the crime, but shortly after its commission he came within a few votes of being elected to the responsible office of sheriff of his county, and at a still later date was honored with the election as delegate to the constitutional convention." Milo M. Quaife, *Wisconsin, Its History and Its People, 1634-1924*, 1: 469, 539 (Chicago, 1924).

Mr. Tweedy, who was unanimously selected by the Whig convention.² No one has been able to find fault with this man's personal qualifications. The worst accusations that have been brought against him are that he has an aristocratic appearance and that he is not really interested in the affairs of the territory—both of which accusations are most vehemently denied by the Whigs. It is much the same here as a few years ago in Switzerland and particularly in Waadtland,³ where the radical Democrats, being unable to distinguish between truly cultured people and upstarts, designated them all as "aristocrats" on account of their dress, and called them *les gants blancs* ("the white gloves")—only that I rather doubt that here in Wisconsin the aristocrats wear such articles.

The seventh of September is the great day that will decide the affair. During the past month Mr. Strong has been untiring in his efforts, traveling from place to place giving speeches in behalf of his candidacy, while Mr. Tweedy, who has made no attempt to gain the election and was about to leave for the East for the sake of his health when he was named as a candidate, consented only on condition that he be allowed to leave on his trip. He is absent, accordingly, and this naturally gives Mr. Strong a quite considerable advantage. The Abolitionists, who make up a separate party, have their own candidate, but the Whigs are not without hope that they will join the Whig party and give them their votes. The Norwegians, as already pointed out, have taken little interest in these affairs, primarily because of the fact that very few of them are as yet American citizens. I believe they have least sympathy with the candidate

² John H. Tweedy was a native of Connecticut, a graduate of Yale, and a man of much business ability. "Although he held numerous public offices, he was not in any sense a professional politician, but rather the type of man whose character and abilities are such that he is drafted into the public service by his fellows." Quaife, *Wisconsin*, 1: 466.

³ The canton of Waadt or Vaud.

of the Abolitionist party.⁴ The negroes seem to win as little sympathy among the Norwegians in America as the Jews do in Norway. When the constitution was voted upon, the question was raised as to whether or not citizens of African descent should have the right to vote. All with whom I have spoken declared that they voted against such a provision, and the great majority presumably took the same stand.

By voting against the proposed constitution, our countrymen have injured their own cause in so far as they have thereby postponed the attainment of political rights for many among them. The constitution as formulated by the Locofocos naturally contained very liberal provisions as far as foreigners are concerned; they were to obtain the right to vote in Wisconsin after a year's residence, upon declaration of their intention of obtaining full citizenship according to the national regulations and of giving their allegiance both to the national and to the state constitution. Now, on the other hand, they will have to wait until another constitution can be formulated, which may take some time, as the regular legislature is not to be summoned until this winter, and it will then have to set a time for a new constitutional assembly to convene for the preparation of a new draft, to be presented to the people in their primary assemblies. All things considered, however, no great harm is done, because the Norwegians need a little time to get settled and to become acquainted with the new conditions. These general discussions as to what shall be the constitutional provisions in the state, form an excellent preparatory school for the part they will later be called upon to play in the struggles of the political parties.

⁴ Ræder is apparently in error here. The Norwegians were generally opposed to slavery; in fact, *Nordlyset* (see *ante*, p. 18, n. 13) was a Free Soil party organ.

Probably several improvements will be made in the constitution, too, particularly if the Whigs get into power, which seems quite likely, provided that they are able to win the national leadership. The elections of members to Congress, held in August, have considerably brightened their prospects; even in Polk's own state, Tennessee, they succeeded in swinging the majority over to their side, and the war seems to become more unpopular from day to day as people stop to reflect that it is costing over a hundred million dollars a year. Here in Wisconsin, people have all the more reason to feel dissatisfied with the present war because of the fact that the greater the expenses Congress incurs in Mexico, the more niggardly it will be in appropriating money for roads, bridges, harbors, prisons, and so on, here in Wisconsin. In spite of all this it must be admitted that the Whigs themselves are somewhat doubtful about the prospects of getting a majority here. If only so many of these Germans and Irishmen did not come, it would be a simple matter, they say; but as things now stand it will be difficult, all the more because of the fact that the legal requirements for American citizenship are not always met so conscientiously. I do not believe, however, that a single Norwegian has cheated his way to citizenship.

I have already suggested how desirable it would be for the Norwegians to see their language frequently in somewhat pure form, not only in their religious literature, but otherwise as well. I had in mind particularly the great ease with which they learn the English language and, unfortunately, the equal facility they have in forgetting their own as soon as they cease to use it every day. In this respect they seem in no way to differ from their ancestors who, when they had settled in France, forgot their native land and their native tongue so rapidly that it has been an object of considerable astonishment to historians and literary scholars. Villemain, for example, calls attention to this fact in

his work on French literature, and gives some examples.⁵ The habits of speech among our countrymen in America are surely very likely to lead to such results, it must be admitted. They do not bother about keeping the two languages separate, so that they may speak Norwegian to their own countrymen and English to others; instead, they eliminate one word after the other from their Norwegian and substitute English words in such a way that the Norwegian will soon be completely forgotten.

Such a practice, to be sure, is rather common among uneducated people who emigrate to a foreign country, but the Norwegians seem to have a special knack at it. The first words they forget are *ja* and *nei*, and, even if everything else about them, from top to toe, is Norwegian, you may be sure they will answer "yes" or "no" if you ask them any questions. Gradually other English words, pertaining to their daily environment, are added. They have a "fæns" about their "farm" and have probably "digget" a well near the house so that they need not go so far to get water to use on their "stoven." Such a well is generally necessary, even if there is a "læk" or a "river" in the vicinity, because such water is generally too warm. Near the houses there is frequently a little garden, where they grow "pompuser" (pumpkins) among other things, and a little beyond is "fila." Can you guess the meaning of the last word? Even I did not at once know how to make it out when I came to a house and, in answer to my question as to where the man was, I was told that he was "paa fila." To be sure I had heard in Christiania what it meant to go there,⁶ but I could easily understand that the word here must mean something else. "Fila" is the English word "field" with the genuine Norwegian feminine article "a."

⁵ Abel François Villemain, *Cours de la littérature française* (first edition, Paris, 1830).

⁶ *Paa filialen*, that is, at the pest-house.

When a Norwegian goes to town it is generally to sell his wheat or his "flour," as well as to buy what he needs at the "store." The worst trouble he has in this strange country is "ægeren" (fever and ague).

Place names are treated by the Norwegian in a rather peculiar manner, quite the opposite of his way of dealing with common nouns; while these are frequently anglicized, the place names, as he pronounces them, get a decidedly Norwegian flavor. Ashippun, where Gasman⁷ lives, is called "Espen"; Koshkonong is termed "Koskeland," Oconomowoc is a little too stiff for him, so he has forgotten to Norsify it; instead he has merely simplified it to "Kolmiwok"; the one sounds just as Lappish as the other. The various farms do not, as a rule, have special names, except occasionally to indicate the owner's old home in Norway, and such a name applies not so much to the farm as to its owner so that it is not retained in case he sells his farm. These Norwegian names, which are met everywhere as one travels through the settlements, contribute not a little toward leading one's fancy back to the valleys up among the mountains at home, five thousand miles away, in spite of the considerable differences in landscape between Wisconsin and Telemarken.⁸

P. S.—The seventh was the great day when everyone went to the polls. Mr. Strong had a considerable majority in this particular place, but he was defeated in most of the country districts so that the majority of votes in this county went to Mr. Tweedy. At Christiania twelve voted for

⁷ Hans Gasman emigrated from Skien, Norway, in 1843. "He had been a member of the Norwegian Storting, and was a man of character and considerable prominence. He and many of his company went to Pine Lake, Wis., where a young Swedish settlement had been founded by a Swedish minister named Unonius in 1841." Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 358. See also Flom, *Norwegian Immigration*, 297-298.

⁸ Telemarken is a district of southern Norway.

Tweedy and seven for Strong. In Milwaukee and the surrounding counties, Tweedy also obtained a majority. The results for the entire territory are not yet known but it seems almost certain that Tweedy is the successful candidate. The election of the territorial officers⁹ and of the members of the legislature, which took place the same day, seems to have turned out in favor of the Locos. A few days before the election, a bomb fell into Strong's camp when about fifty Locos at Southport¹⁰ declared that they could not vote for Strong because of all his moral shortcomings, especially in view of the fact that the Democratic party at all times aims to support and further the cause of morality and religion. They even maintained that Strong was drunk when he gave his speech in their town. This secession undoubtedly hurt his cause greatly among the Locos. Many of them seem to have refrained from voting, others to have voted with the opposite party.

⁹ The Norwegian text has "Torryembedsmænd," undoubtedly intended for "Territoryembedsmænd."

¹⁰ "Bonthport" in the original; undoubtedly a misprint.

V

THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD NEWCOMERS

The ease with which the Norwegians learn the English language has attracted the attention of the Americans, all the more because of the fact that they are altogether too ready to consider them entirely raw when they come here. "Never," one of them told me a few days ago, "have I known people to become civilized so rapidly as your countrymen; they come here in motley crowds, dressed up with all kinds of dingle-dangle just like the Indians. But just look at them a year later: they speak English perfectly, and, as far as dress, manners, and ability are concerned, they are quite above reproach." Of course I tried to explain to him that their original mode of dress certainly could not make Indians out of them and that they were not entirely devoid of culture or those habits of diligence and regularity which one expects to find in a well-ordered and civilized society, even among the poorest classes out in the country, but he seemed scarcely disposed to make any concessions on that point.

On the other hand, he did not seem to know a great deal about the Norwegians in this country. My impression, after many visits extending over a number of settlements, is that the great mass of the families have essentially changed very little. I shall not deny, however, that they have been able to meet the severe strain of the work with an iron will, and thus have had ample opportunity to strengthen their moral courage, and it also seems to be a fact that there is less drinking here than in Norway, although there are enough

drunkards here, too, and among them some who have acquired the habit since they came here. Cleanliness is, here as in Norway, for many of them almost an unheard-of thing. The entrance to one of the houses I visited was guarded by a formidable cesspool. If a place looks really filthy and disreputable, you must expect to meet either Norwegians or Swiss or Irish ("Eirisa," as the Norwegians call them).

Of course there are some notable exceptions, but, on the whole, one must admit that it is particularly among young people who have gone into the service of Americans that one finds a real desire for improvement. This it is which makes the Norwegian name respected and almost loved here. This it is which has given our people such a general reputation for respectability, morality, sobriety, and natural ability that I frequently hear expressions to the effect that the whole of Norway might well come here and be received with open arms. On account of these qualities Norwegian young people are much in demand as servants. I believe there is not a single house of any size at all in Madison where Norwegians are not found. Here at the American Hotel, where I am staying, all the female servants are Norwegians. One of them, a woman, whose children are at Koshkonong, does not yet know the language and consequently she receives less than she otherwise could earn; her pay is a dollar a week. The same wage is paid to a young girl who knows the language only slightly. A girl who is a sister of a clerk in Christiania has just recently come to this country and she is paid seventy-five cents. The hostler is also Norwegian and receives twelve dollars a month. The first day I was here a Norwegian boy, fourteen or fifteen years old, waited on table; when I asked him his wages he answered that he was paid only five dollars a month. I thought he expressed himself that way with a secret feeling of triumph, to give me a real surprise, but soon afterwards he proved that he meant what he said quite literally

by finding a better job elsewhere. My host said he was sorry to see him leave.

A few weeks ago I found three Norwegians in consultation outside the door to my hotel. One of them had tentatively hired himself out to a man living a few miles from here, for whom my host functions as a sort of agent. He was to try the job for a month at five dollars and, after that, if both parties were satisfied, he was promised better pay. Now, however, the boy had found better employment here in Madison and he wished to substitute another in his place, a boy from Bergen who had just arrived. The third, who was to function in the capacity of interpreter for them, did not feel himself quite competent for the task and was greatly pleased to have me relieve him. We got hold of Mr. Morrison, my host, who did not object very much, although the new man was very young and so short of stature that the Yankee suspected that he might be a Lapp. I reassured him, however, and our good countryman was soon sent on his way, with a good breakfast in his stomach and a lunch in his pocket.

You see, therefore, that five dollars is somewhat below the average monthly wage in the country and is paid only at the very start when the worker is on trial; afterwards the pay is increased considerably, at least to twelve dollars, I believe. One who hires himself out by the day to cut or bind grain during the harvest season can earn as much as a dollar a day, in addition to his board. A simple laborer at the lead mines earns from ten to twelve dollars a month and board. A tender at a tile factory told me he made eleven dollars a month. These wages are not, however, as a rule paid entirely in cash; some part, ordinarily half, is paid in goods. Girls, naturally, are paid less, both in the towns and in the country. One with whom I spoke at a restaurant some miles east of Madison was paid a dollar and a quarter per week; she knew the language. The highest wages I have heard of

for women is seven dollars a month; the favored individual is a beautiful young girl at a hotel here in Madison; I believe she is regarded as a lady in the social life here.

It is, on the whole, quite remarkable how quickly our farm-girls improve when they are out among strangers. Their English is quite correct, but as soon as they start to speak their mother tongue, it generally sounds broad and clumsy enough; no matter how much patriotic love you may profess to feel for the various dialects of our language, you cannot deny or at any rate avoid the feeling that the harmony is broken, even if the unfortunate expression comes from the fairest mouth or is animated by the friendliest smile. I believe that most of them are not conscious of the peculiar impression made by their way of speaking Norwegian; at any rate, they are too good-hearted and too happy in the recollection of their native land to be bothered by such a trifle. One can scarcely say as much for the Norwegian boys; at any rate, I have heard the opinion expressed that as soon as they have learned "to guess" and "to calculate," they at once become strangers to their less fortunate countrymen and are very loath to admit their Norwegian origin. This fact (and I am inclined to believe it is one) furnishes new proof of the need of improving the cultural conditions among our countrymen here and, at the same time, of increasing their national pride so much, at least, that they will not feel themselves tempted to deny their own country. I do not believe that any cultured Norwegian has ever felt any tendency to do such a thing; on the contrary he is all too apt to boast of the fact that he comes from the "land of the heroes." He realizes, at any rate, that his country, in spite of its poverty, has every claim to the respect of strangers; and he will not so easily be overwhelmed by the feeling of reverence for "these mighty Yankees," which seems to affect our simple countrymen so deeply and probably accounts for the fact that they make

such good servants, much better, in fact, than they were in their own country. If this reverence could only reduce itself to a feeling of respect for the enterprise and other good qualities of the Yankees, then their desire to progress, instead of being mere servile imitation, would assume a somewhat more honorable aspect. Thus, instead of trying to lose themselves among the mass of strangers, as Jews do when they are converted, they would continue their relations with their countrymen, on whom they could thus exert a most beneficial influence.

They have all the more reason for assuming such an attitude because of the fact, as already indicated, that the Americans themselves certainly do not consider it a disgrace to be Norwegian. It cannot, of course, be said that they have any particular respect for the culture of the Norwegians or for their spirit of independence, a thing which is here considered of great importance as a civic virtue, because the sort of intelligence which is shown in a more or less successful attempt at imitation is always of a somewhat lower type. But as soon as the young people have risen from their present status as servants and have become independent farmers or shop-owners, and that time is not so far distant, then the Norwegians will without doubt enjoy the respect and confidence of their fellow-citizens, which will show itself through election to public offices—provided that they do not forfeit this good will by their own actions.

At present very few of them hold public office. E. Heg is a postmaster; Reymert, I believe, is a notary public; a man from Christiansand, Mr. Corneliussen, who has settled about two Norwegian miles¹ from Madison, not far from Fourth Lake, and has built a sawmill and is about to construct a flour-mill, is a supervisor (member of the council in his district). He is one of the most enterprising and successful young Norwegians in Wisconsin. I only hope that

¹ A Norwegian mile is equivalent to seven English miles.

he has not been too ambitious and has not set a faster pace than is advisable for a beginner. I was out and visited him on his bit of wilderness a few days ago and found him energetically and cheerfully working on a huge piece of wood, which he had to attend to himself in the absence of the foreman of his mill. I regret that I had not come a few days earlier, when a number of Indians had put up their wigwams near his house. In addition to his other enterprises, Mr. Corneliussen has a large sheep-farm and runs a store out there; soon he will probably become the founder of a little town. He is planning to establish such a town about his premises—a quite natural development, as a mill is frequently the nucleus of a new town. At the place where you fetch lumber for your house, it is only natural that you should buy nails and other necessities for it. When you get your wheat ground into flour, it is only natural that you should wish to sell some of it or trade it in for other goods, and probably make use of the opportunity to buy a pair of shoes, have a coat mended, have your horse shod, or the like, if there are stores, tailor-shops, shoemakers, and smiths at hand. In the hope of finding customers, such artisans and tradesmen flock together at such a place and the owner generally encourages them by offering them a piece of ground near his mills free. Thus little towns spring up out of the ground—or rather, out of the mills—and this procedure is so common among the Yankees that they sometimes designate such places as towns as soon as the mill is under construction, often even sooner. Thus they have already named Mr. Corneliussen's town Charlesville because his name is Carl. Very likely there will soon be a settlement around the town, because he has some land to parcel out, owned by a speculator in New York.

As soon as a few such men have risen from their humble beginnings, the Norwegian name will undoubtedly win all the glory that can be desired. Already, as the account just

given of the constitution affair shows, the Americans have begun to take official notice of the Norwegians. This is also seen in the names "Christiania" and "Norway" given to a couple of new towns. "Christiana," as it is commonly written in English, was established and given its present name by an act of February 18, 1847, and is situated on Koshkonong Prairie. This is where Pastor Dietrichson lives,—and the parish clerk in the neighboring town of Rome!² The opposite arrangement would probably have been more in keeping with the names of the towns, but here in America we are used to having things turned somewhat upside down. While I am speaking of names, I shall call attention to the fact that the so-called Rock Prairie settlement, which Pastor Clausen serves, has decided to change its name to Luther Valley; the former name had led many astray, as the settlement actually is not located at Rock Prairie but some distance away, not far from Beloit.³

In speaking of the good reputation the Norwegians enjoy among the Americans, I have referred to Wisconsin alone. In Illinois, and particularly in Chicago, the situation is perhaps somewhat different. I have been told, at any rate, that there are many bad characters among the more than six hundred Norwegians in Chicago. I have not been there and

² Johannes Wilhelm Christian Dietrichson was born at Fredrikstad, Norway, on April 4, 1815. He went to Koshkonong, Wisconsin, in 1844 as pastor, and in 1845 made a visit to Norway to try to induce young theologians to go to America. He returned to Norway for good in 1850 and died in 1883. He published in 1846 his *Reiser blandt de norske Emigranter i de forenede Nordamerikanske Stater*, an account of his experiences in America. Olaf M. Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika, 1814-1913*, 96 (Minneapolis, 1914).

³ Claus Laurits Clausen was born at Ærø, Denmark, on November 3, 1820. He went to Norway in 1841 to seek work in the South African mission field. Tollef Bache (see *ante*, p. 17, n. 13) persuaded him to go to America as a parochial teacher, and he arrived at the Muskego settlement in August, 1843. Finding that the people needed a pastor even more than they did a teacher, he secured ordination in October. In 1845 he removed to Koshkonong and in 1846 to Luther Valley. In 1853 he went to St. Ansgar, Iowa, with a large group of settlers, whom he served

consequently cannot speak from personal experience. Perhaps there is a certain amount of exaggeration in the reports. It seems probable, however, that in such a harbor-city, where people are employed as quay porters and at odd jobs, it is easier to fall into all sorts of vice than among the simple, thrifty populace in the rural communities, especially if, at a place of such great resources—and in addition a landing-place for immigrants—a nucleus of bad company already has been formed, where drinking, gambling, and fighting are the order of the day. It is also natural that the ill repute that such a place acquires should attract a large mass of people who are vulgar enough to prefer that sort of life or else too lazy to get a regular job. A Norwegian at Janesville showed me an injured hand which he had as a souvenir of his stay in Chicago. He had been with another Norwegian who, when they met one of the coarsest of the Strils⁴ there, had said, "There goes one of the Norwegian Indians." My friend from Janesville laughed, and this the Stril noticed. Understanding that the joke was at his expense, he demanded an explanation. When he was told that "thoughts are free," he struck my friend a blow with his knife.

Northern Illinois is comparatively well represented in the Mexican War. The county in which Galena is situ-

not only as pastor but as general leader as well. He was a member of the Iowa legislature in 1856, commissioner of immigration for the state from 1856 to 1859, and chaplain of the Fifteenth Wisconsin regiment in the Civil War in 1861 and 1862. After his military experience he returned to his congregation at St. Ansgar, and later served congregations at Philadelphia and at Blooming Prairie, Minnesota. He died in 1892. Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester*, 95.

The first Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin was at Jefferson Prairie, occupying the southeastern corner of Rock County and extending into Illinois. It was established in 1838. An offshoot of this settlement was the Rock Prairie, or, as it was later called, the Luther Valley settlement, established in 1839 some miles west of Jefferson Prairie. Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 237-266; Flom, *Norwegian Immigration*, 129-134.

⁴ Stril (plural *Striler*), an inhabitant, especially an islander, of the immediate neighborhood of Bergen (*Strilelandet*).

ated is said to have contributed alone no less than a thousand men, among whom were a considerable number of Norwegians. The first issue of *Nordlyset* quotes from one of the Chicago papers a glowing eulogy of the courage of a Norwegian from Chicago who fell at the battle of Buena Vista.⁵ Some among the thousand volunteers mentioned were, however, from Wisconsin.

I have heard that at one place in Illinois there is a Norwegian justice of the peace. If that be true, it indicates that at least out in the country there are Norwegians who enjoy a certain amount of esteem. The fact that people in Illinois are well pleased to receive Norwegian immigrants is apparent from the manner in which the papers announce their arrival. A few days ago I found the following item in the *Chicago Commercial Advertiser*: "Immigrants from foreign countries are arriving daily. Yesterday morning we observed a large number of Norwegians with their huge trunks and boxes out in front of one of their hotels on La Salle Street. Their appearance bore evidence of intelligence, thrift, and sobriety—excellent qualities for citizens in the flourishing West. There is still plenty of room." On the other hand, in connection with the attitude in Illinois toward foreigners and particularly toward their political status, it must be remarked that the draft of its new constitution gives the right of franchise to American citizens only, thereby excluding those who have been in America less than five years. So far there has been almost no period of residence required, and the new regulation is all the more significant because of the fact that the Whigs are not very strong in the legislative assembly. I shall say even less about Iowa than about Illinois, because the number of Norwegians there is said to be insignificant and I know none of them.

Not to forget any of the merits of *Nordlyset*, I shall add

⁵ *Nordlyset*, July 29, 1847. The quotation is from the *Daily Democrat* (Chicago), and the man's name is Jørgen Pederson Næsthus (George Pilson).

that its appearance has caused several American papers to write about Norway and its people. It gives extracts from Dr. Baird's account of his trip, which is very flattering, and, following his account, it relates our achievements in 1821, when we destroyed the nobility, and that in spite of the fact that the king attended the sessions of parliament with an army of six thousand men (I am giving *Nordlyset's* version).⁶ Considerable praise is bestowed on the Norwegian-Americans in general, and Mr. Reymert in particular. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* reported that his paper had five hundred subscribers shortly after the appearance of the first number. Soon after reading this account I spoke with one of the publishers of *Nordlyset*, who told me that as yet they had almost no subscribers but had good hopes of getting some!

⁶ Robert Baird, *A Visit to Northern Europe: or Sketches, Descriptive, Historical, Political, and Moral, of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland* (New York, 1841). In the constitution of Norway as framed in 1814 it was specified that "no further personal or mixed hereditary privileges" should be granted. In 1815 the Storting passed a bill abolishing the Norwegian hereditary nobility, which was vetoed by the king. It met the same fate in 1818, but it was specified in the constitution that, if it were passed a third time (in 1821) it should become a law even without the king's consent. This, Charles John, king of Sweden and Norway, seemed determined to prevent, and he wished at the same time to secure a revision of the Norwegian constitution to give him the deciding influence in Norwegian affairs. "Six thousand Swedish and Norwegian troops were assembled for maneuvers on the plain of Etterstad in the neighborhood of Christiania. It was also discovered that the Swedish soldiers had been supplied with ball cartridges, as if they were in an enemy's country. As soon as the army had assembled, a Swedish squadron, carrying 300 guns and a crew of 2,000 men, entered the harbor of Christiania, and on July 17th [1821] the king himself started for Norway, accompanied by a number of admirals, generals, and foreign diplomats. The assembling of such forces around the capital at a moment when the financial distress of the kingdom did not warrant large expenditures for military display could have been undertaken only for the most sinister purposes. It seems almost certain that the king contemplated a *coup d'état*, by which he would overthrow the Norwegian government and consolidate Norway and Sweden. . . . A catastrophe seemed imminent, but the king did not strike the threatened blow. . . . The great maneuvers ended with parades, balls, and dinners." Knut Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, 2: 455-458 (New York, 1915).

VI

RELIGIOUS WORK AMONG THE NORWEGIANS

As you know, three churches have been erected, at Koshkonong Prairie, at Luther Valley, and at Pine Lake and Ashippun; the first two are Lutheran; the last, Episcopalian. Besides, there is a Lutheran congregation at Muskego, where Clausen was minister before he was called to his present congregation. It is again organizing and has good hopes of securing as pastor a young and, it is said, a very talented theological candidate from Bergen by the name of Stub.¹ Pastor Dietrichson has through his efforts earned the gratitude of all who are interested in the cause of religious work among our countrymen in Wisconsin.

The minister who serves the Episcopalian congregation, which the Gasman family and, I believe, also the Fribergs have joined, is a Swede named Unonius, who, like the other two ministers, seems to be well liked by his congregation and who possesses many admirable qualities.² Last year he

¹ Hans Andreas Stub was born at Frise, near Bergen, Norway, on May 13, 1822. After completing his theological studies at the University of Christiania he emigrated to Muskego, Wisconsin, in 1848, where he was pastor until 1855. He later served congregations in Coon Prairie, Wisconsin; Highlandville, Iowa; and various parts of Norway. He died at Sacred Heart, Minnesota, in 1907. Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester*, 97.

² For Friberg see *ante*, p. 15, n. 5.

Gustaf Elias Marius Unonius, a student at Upsala in Sweden, came to America in 1841 and settled at Pine Lake, in the northwestern corner of Waukesha County, about thirty miles from Milwaukee. Here he came in touch with Episcopalian missionaries and he began to study theology at an Episcopalian institution in Nashotah. In 1845 he organized St. Olaf's Norwegian Episcopal congregation, at the same time continuing his studies at Nashotah. In 1858 he returned to Sweden, and in 1862 he published his *Minnen från en sjuttonaarig Vistelse i nordvästra Amerika* (Upsala).

published a translation of a little English *Handbook for the Holy Church's Believing Members, Presented in the Form of Questions and Answers*, dedicated to "the Scandinavian congregations at Chenequa (Pine Lake) and St. Olaf's at Ashippun," and brought out by the previously noted tract society in New York. In the introduction he explains why the above mentioned congregations have joined the Episcopal church, but I have not quite been able to comprehend the affair, as the internal and external reasons for this change are presented in such a way that, as far as I can understand, they contradict and neutralize each other. On the one hand he declares or at any rate implies that the Episcopal church has the advantage over the Lutheran on all points of doctrinal difference, as, indeed, we should expect from an Episcopalian clergyman; on the other hand he adds that "the few inconsequential points of difference which distinguish the Episcopal church from our church at home have not appeared of sufficient importance to make us hesitate in joining this church." Here the natural implication is that these differences, instead of furnishing a motive for joining this church, appear as an objectionable feature, and that the people were finally led to disregard these points of difference through considering how unimportant, if indeed not absolutely nonexistent, they were, and through the force of external circumstances.

The pamphlet itself seems to be fully as unintelligible as the introduction. One question is as follows: "Who are the Protestant dissenters?" The answer is, "Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Quakers, Unitarians, Universalists, Mormons, etc., etc., etc." Lutherans are not mentioned—and surely it is not intended to include them under one of the three *et ceteras*. But, as the great factor that distinguishes all these Protestant dissenters from "the church," it is related that their ministers cannot show any authorization from God to carry on an Evangel-

ical ministry; and then follows an exposition of the Episcopal church's doctrine that only bishops are authorized to ordain others, which certainly is one and perhaps the most important point of disagreement between the Episcopal and the Lutheran doctrine, although it is held that the Augsburg Confession and Luther himself acknowledge the necessity of the bishop's office.

Even if these statements do not give a satisfactory explanation of why these congregations joined the Episcopal church, it is easy enough to see how it happened. When our countrymen, who felt the need of religious edification but did not know much about the differences between the various denominations, were told that these differences were of no consequence as far as salvation is concerned, that the Lutheran church in this country lacked organization and was badly split while the Episcopal church was well organized and prepared to receive them, to ordain as their minister a fine young man whom they already knew and esteemed, and even to pay his salary, surely it is not surprising that, frightened by the thought that the sectarianism which surrounded them on every side might break in among them and disturb their peace, they regarded this offer as the only means available for maintaining the true Christian faith in their midst, and accordingly threw themselves into the arms of the church body that welcomed them with so much Christian good will. This explanation quite agrees with what several members of the congregation have told me on the subject. None of them said that they considered the Lutheran doctrines false, although it surely would have sounded better to express it that way, and they undoubtedly would have said so had it been a matter of conscience to them. If this had been the case, it would, of course, not only have been desirable but almost a matter of duty to leave the Lutheran church. Converts who really mean what they say do not as a rule hesitate to make such statements, least of all in our

time, when it is no longer the fashion to blame anyone for acting according to his own conviction.

But if the motives were those which I have indicated, these new Episcopalians must of necessity have felt some perplexity when they saw congregations of their own Norwegian Lutheran church spring up and flourish alongside of them, and it was thus demonstrated to them in a practical way that the faith which they had been taught in their childhood to regard as the most correct and to which they were most closely bound by memories of their distant but still beloved home, had actually established itself in Wisconsin and was as able as the Episcopal church to protect them against the excesses of sectarianism. To be sure, it was most convenient to have their minister paid by the Episcopal mission funds, but eventually the time came when this, too, had to cease, and the congregations were asked to pay him themselves, and at the same time the difficulties mentioned seemed to grow in importance. The former arguments to the effect that Unonius was such an excellent minister and the Episcopal ritual so beautiful, and the like, were no longer adequate for many, and they turned to Pastor Dietrichson. At first he refused to have anything to do with them, as he himself is said to have great respect for the Episcopal church and he did not wish to be accused of interfering with its work. Later on, however, if I am not mistaken, urged by their continued requests and particularly by the report that Unonius had refused to bury their dead, he modified his position so far as to admit them to one of his annex churches. Thus you see that the Episcopal church is, on the whole, losing ground among our countrymen, and if things continue as at present, there will be no use for the young Scandinavian theologians who are now being educated at the Episcopal college in Nashotah.

In the meantime, however, it is possible that conditions will soon take a turn in their favor. Both of the Lutheran

pastors long to return home to Norway, and if there are not others to take their places when they leave, these Norwegian Lutheran congregations will probably become the heritage of the Episcopal church. Both pastors have had a difficult position to fill; and, in spite of their continued success in introducing Christian order among the motley crowd of people who had come here, full of earthly desires and often with the strangest ideas as to the meaning of religious liberty, nevertheless their position and their circumstances are such that one certainly cannot blame them for longing to return to their homes in Norway. The one has no fortune, which is rather bad in a congregation such as that at Koshkonong; the other has a considerable fortune, to be sure, which he is spending, to some extent, in the interests of his congregation, but his health is poor as the result of an injury he received from a horse some years ago. Both of them, through their Christian zeal and their considerable talents, have won great esteem and have increased their congregations, but there is still a large number of unbelievers, who annoy the others by their ungodliness and their evil mockery and injure the ministers all they can. Dietrichson's powerful—I might almost say apostolic—character has most particularly qualified him for the task of establishing new congregations and arranging religious affairs. He is, perhaps, not quite so well qualified when it comes to dealing with the petty troubles which enter into every society and particularly among the lowly and uneducated, when their beliefs are shaken and their moral stand unbalanced as a result of important external changes which vitally influence their inner life. You have perhaps heard how last winter a woman's desire to provoke her husband led to a scene in Dietrichson's house which made it necessary for Dietrichson to throw her out, and how the pastor was later brought before a justice of the peace at Madison on this account and sentenced to pay a fine. This was so obviously unjust that the

county would not accept it. I have spoken with the justice, Mr. Seymour, myself, and he declared that it was his opinion, too, that Dietrichson was in the right.

The number of Norwegians who have joined the Lutheran or the Episcopal church here in Wisconsin is estimated at three or four thousand. About fifteen hundred of them are under Dietrichson's care, and a thousand under Clausen's. Besides these there are a few Haugeans and some have joined Elling Eielsen, a man who at one time belonged to the Haugeans but afterwards left them.³ I am unable to say just what his doctrines are; his followers are said to surround themselves with a certain air of secrecy, so that it is hard to get near them. Recently in company with Pastor Dietrichson I met Eielsen and his wife on the road. I thus had the opportunity of listening to a friendly conversation between the two ministers, and Elling's free and at the same time modest bearing impressed me most favorably. The expression on his face is bold and yet not lacking in spiritual qualities. I could not see his wife, as she was partly concealed by the leather top on the wagon. She, too, is said to be quite adept at preaching. I do not believe that many of the Norwegians here are members of any of the American sects.

The Mormons, who, as is known, have been joined by a number of Norwegians, have never been strongly represented in Wisconsin; they have their greatest strength in Illinois. But now they have been forcibly expelled both

³ Elling Eielsen was born at Voss, near Bergen, Norway, on September 19, 1804. After traveling in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark some years as a lay preacher, he emigrated to America in 1839, and traveled throughout Illinois and Wisconsin as a lay preacher until 1843, when he was ordained in Chicago, on October 3, and thus became the first Norwegian Lutheran pastor in America. He visited practically every Norwegian settlement on his missionary journeys, going even as far as Texas. On April 13 and 14, 1846, he organized the Evangelical Lutheran church in America, generally known as "Elling's Synod." He died on January 10, 1883. Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester*, 95.

from Illinois and from Missouri, where people used to duck them in pools, and thus got rid of many of them. Things are not always done so correctly out there in the extreme West, you see. Those who escaped "lynching" are now in California; according to the latest reports from that part of the country, some of them had arrived, and another party, consisting of more than six hundred wagons, was not far from its destination. Many are afraid that they will declare themselves an independent republic; certainly they have no reason for loving the United States. Be that as it may, people have evidently got rid of them here. Their temple at Nauvoo is deserted. The Catholics recently contemplated buying it but changed their minds, and it will, I believe, be used as a public school. It is located in Illinois near the Mississippi, not far from the towns of Carthage, Lima, Warsaw, and Montebello.⁴ I do not know if any Norwegians lost their lives during the struggle. I hope not.

⁴ "Montebello" may possibly mean Monticello, a town across the river in Missouri.

VII

RELIGIOUS AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

From the above, it is evident that about three thousand Norwegians as yet do not belong to any religious organization. Such a situation is rather serious, and yet no worse than among the Americans themselves. The complaint is frequently heard here in the West that religion has few adherents and few ministers, but it must at the same time be admitted that progress is being made in this respect almost everywhere. Even if the situation is by no means what it was among the Puritan settlers in New England two hundred years ago, when a church was the first thing to be provided for, nevertheless spiritual needs do assert themselves even out here in the West, as soon as the first severe struggle with nature is over. Many a person who never has experienced the influence of religion in a thickly populated, civilized country, learns to appreciate, out here in his loneliness, how deep an influence religion exerts upon the soul of man. Besides, a man is not of necessity an absolute heathen merely because he has not joined a congregation. As a result of the great variety of sects, frequently even in the more populous districts some denomination or other is not well enough represented to form a congregation and there is none in the vicinity which the people may join. Here in Madison, for example, there are only Presbyterian services. Such a condition is much more likely to exist on the outer rim of civilization, where the Indian still hunts and the backwoodsman has built his log cabin many miles distant from the nearest Christian dwelling. Under such

conditions the external confession of his religion is temporarily suspended; but, as soon as a house of worship is established in the vicinity, he is likely to go there, even if it does not altogether conform to the creed of his own denomination. If he does not care to join this church, it is probably not on account of his carelessness or unbelief, but more likely the very opposite. Many, of course, refrain from joining because of their stinginess. Thus there are Norwegians living among Norwegian congregations and attending their services who will not become members and consequently do not receive communion.

Americans who live near the Norwegian churches attend services at times despite the fact that they are not Lutherans and do not understand the language. They say, however, that since they know that an act of worship is taking place, it does them good to be present. This is not at all surprising, as Pastor Dietrichson conducts the services in such a beautiful and dignified manner that it will naturally make an impression even on a person who is not able to derive benefit from the actual meaning of the words. I have never heard Pastor Clausen but he, too, is said to be a capable speaker and to be otherwise well qualified for his work. Pastor Dietrichson has been requested to preach occasionally in English. I do not believe he will venture to do so; and, although it might be desirable in so far as it would enable him to do more good, and, through establishing an American congregation alongside of the Norwegian, he would gain prestige both for his church and for himself, nevertheless, for my part, I hope it will not be done. It would tend to Americanize our countrymen too soon. Let us rather keep the church, as well as the language, to ourselves at first; through them alone can we hope to preserve our nationality.

In Illinois religious conditions among the Norwegians seem to be rather worse than in Wisconsin. Very few of

them belong to Clausen's congregation and there seems to be no well established church except his, at least not of the Lutheran faith. A man named Smith, who is or at any rate used to be a Baptist minister, exerted a certain influence here, partly as a minister and partly as a physician, before Lutheran congregations were established. Later on he went to Illinois. I met him in the Scandinavian ship-church, or rather church-ship, in New York, and he told me that he intended to return to Illinois. He told me he was from Trondhjem. I believe he still functions as a sort of minister; at any rate I was told that he was to preach once or twice in New York.¹

It has often been stated that the Catholic church makes many proselytes out here in the West and there is undoubtedly considerable truth in the contention, as is seen from the rapidly increasing number of Catholic churches and congregations. Its greatest progress, however, is made not among the whites but among the Indians. Catholic missionaries made their way into the wilderness hundreds of miles from civilization as early as two hundred years ago, Claude Allouez having established a mission on Lake Superior even

¹ John A. Smith, a Swede, appeared at Koshkonong in 1841, asserting that he was both a physician and a Lutheran minister. Pastor Dietrichson says that he was in reality a Baptist. Unonius declares that Smith classed himself as a Swede or as a Norwegian, whichever he found more convenient. He asserted that he had at one time been His Majesty's chaplain in Sweden. It was rumored, however, that he had been in prison in Sweden as a thief and that upon his release he had decided to emigrate to America. Dietrichson and Clausen unmasked him in 1844 and he had to leave Koshkonong; but in 1845 he arrived in Chicago, having in the meantime been licensed as a preacher by some Lutheran body in the East. He succeeded in erecting a church in Chicago with financial aid from the Presbyterians. But trouble soon arose, and his congregation was split into two factions. Clausen tried to make peace but failed. Finally Smith was forced to leave, on May 13, 1848, and his departure occasioned a veritable celebration on the part of the Norwegians in Chicago. Unonius, *Minnen från Amerika*, 2: 218-220; *Nordlyset*, July 29, 1847; January 6, May 18, 1848.

before Penn founded Philadelphia.² They gave wonderful proof of their zeal and devotion to the cause of religion. The Catholic church thus has a sort of historic claim to this part of the world, based on the untiring efforts of its priests, a right which it is now trying to assert by employing its best forces. Its progress among the whites is considerably hindered by the peculiar, almost ridiculous, prejudices people have against the church politically. Many people fully believe that the Catholics have a secret organization of a dark and bloody nature, a sort of gunpowder plot through which they hope to blow up the republican form of government. This is said to be particularly dangerous in Pennsylvania. As far as the Norwegians are concerned, I have not heard that any of them have been converted to Catholicism.

I hope you are not looking to me for any account of the economic conditions among our good countrymen in Wisconsin—this vale of tears—this Land of Canaan. It is a somewhat ticklish subject, as you know, and I have never made a specialty of surveys and estimates. If I were able, after the short visits I have made to the settlements at Muskego, Koshkonong, and Ashippun to estimate the extent of their property, I should be displaying such rare talent that I should run the risk of being appointed assessor as soon as I came home, which God forbid, both now and evermore! You will have to be content with the brief remarks I have already made as to wages for young, energetic, diligent people, wages which in a sense speak for themselves, and with the quite general remarks that Wisconsin is a fertile territory, the land is cheap, and farm products also are cheap. The last item is almost self-evident when one considers the fact that grain, in order to reach New York, has fifteen hundred miles to travel, and that on this journey, it

² For the story of Father Claude Allouez see Quaife, *Wisconsin*, 1: 83, and Louise Phelps Kellogg, ed., *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*, 93-160 (New York, 1917).

has to pay high enough freight rates to make a paying business of the navigation on the Lakes, the Erie Canal, and the Hudson River, and then the canal tolls as well as the merchants' profits, commissions, and the like. From New York it still has three thousand miles to travel before it reaches the European market, where it has to compete with English, Russian, Danish, and Austrian products. It is true that a great deal is consumed in the United States, particularly in the South, where cotton is the chief crop, and in the East. It is estimated that New England, which is largely industrial, feeds two million stomachs on wheat from the West, and New York and Brooklyn's half million get their wheat from there also. But, as it is a fact that huge portions go to Europe, it is obvious that the prices even in New York and Boston must be somewhat lower than in the European markets, and recent events have proved conclusively that they are quite dependent on the prices in England.

It is obvious, then, that the profits of the farmer cannot be very great after he has paid high wages to his workers and with difficulty has managed to have his produce hauled to town over the wretched roads. The price at Milwaukee has been as low as fifty cents a bushel for wheat; this year, however, it has scarcely gone below sixty; and, at present, when many ships are waiting for loads, it is from eighty to eighty-five cents. Here in Madison people do not raise more wheat than they need for local consumption, as it really does not pay to haul it to the lake shore, and the six hundred citizens of the town, most of whom are farmers themselves, do not buy much. They find it more profitable, therefore, to cultivate Indian corn, root-crops, and the like, for their cattle. The farmers did not make any considerable profits as a result of the hard times in Europe. Since the Lakes and the canals are frozen during the winter, the farmer must hasten to sell his produce immediately after the harvest. Thus it happened that it was already in the

hands of the merchants before people had any idea how bad conditions were in Europe. And, as navigation could not set in until late in the spring, you will readily see that what was shipped from here would not arrive in England until shortly before the harvest season. The circumstance that navigation must ordinarily cease until late in April and that most of the shipping must therefore occur in the fall naturally tends to increase the freight rates; and, if one gets his crops to town too late, he naturally gets a still lower price because they will have to lie over during the winter and bear the storehouse expenses and all kinds of risk.

When the railroad is completed through southern Michigan and from New York to Lake Erie, transportation will commence a month earlier in the spring because the stretch on Lake Erie, which will still remain, thaws out in March. But it is always expensive to ship heavy goods by rail, so that even the advent of the railroad probably will not raise the prices here. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the best market for Wisconsin wheat and similar products—the mining districts and the new immigrant settlements—does not grow in comparison with the bulk of production. A few years ago almost the only exports were lead, copper, and furs, while now the exportation of food articles must certainly be considered the most important, although I believe there are no definite statistics on the subject. In Washington some attempt is made to keep a statistical record of production, and the figures for Wisconsin for 1844 are set at 728,000 bushels of wheat, 1,000,000 of oats, 23,000 of buckwheat, 853,000 of potatoes, 17,000 of barley, 4,000 of rye, 560,000 pounds of Indian corn, and 216,000 of sugar. These statistics are based on the fallacious assumption that the population was only about 52,000, but they are of interest as showing the natural proportion there exists among the various branches of production.

P. S.—After finishing this letter I met a young man who

wanted to know my opinion of the lawsuit in which Pastor Dietrichson was involved last winter. He also asked if I thought the Lutheran church here in the West would raise any objections to a union with the American Lutheran church; there are, of course, a few differences as to church organization. As far as the first question was concerned, I did not hesitate at all to express my opinion, which, he declared, quite coincided with the impression he had from other sources. As far as the second question was concerned, I was unable to give him any definite information, but merely ventured the opinion that there probably would be no objection on doctrinal grounds, at any rate. Although the German Lutheran church has more symbolic books than we, it is recognized as a sort of brother church, so that one of our ministers was ordained by a German Lutheran minister, and the Swedish church, which has an Episcopal administration, is also recognized. The young man was a theological student by the name of Charles Weltis (so his name appears on the card he gave me). He is serving as a representative of the Lutheran church in Pennsylvania. He showed me a letter from the president, or, at any rate, from one of the members of that church, Professor Reynolds,³ in which he wrote that the Lutheran church in the East had turned its attention in this direction and was planning to send missionaries out here, among others a young Norwegian, whose name was not mentioned. Mr. Weltis had selected Pastor Dietrichson as the proper man for the eastern church to get in touch with, and he was, to begin with, trying to get some information about him. I endeav-

³ Professor W. M. Reynolds, D. D., of Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, a college maintained by the General Synod. In 1849 he founded and became the first editor of the *Evangelical Review*. In 1850 he became president of Capital University, Columbus, Ohio; and later he held a similar position at the Illinois State University, a Lutheran college at Springfield. J. L. Neve, *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 128, 136 (Burlington, Iowa, 1916).

ored to strengthen his conviction that Dietrichson was the right man. The eastern church seems determined to take a rather energetic stand against the Episcopal church so far as making proselytes among the Lutherans is concerned. Perhaps its attention was first directed to this locality by the recent gift of twenty thousand dollars from the rich and noble-minded Bostonian, Amos Lawrence,⁴ for the establishment of an Episcopal theological seminary in this territory.

⁴ The original has "Lawrents," probably a misprint.

VIII

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE IMMIGRANT

Finally, we must bear in mind that interest on money is as high as seven per cent or more, and the taxes, although they are not yet heavy, must also be taken into account. They vary according to time and place, as to whether much or little is needed to keep the affairs of the community going, and the amount of land owned is not the only basis for taxation; in other words, taxes vary here just as among us in Norway, and there is no definite ratio. To judge by such tax lists as I have seen, however, the tax is seldom less than one or two dollars to forty acres. A Norwegian farmer not far from Madison, who has 160 acres of good land, of which about 50 are cultivated, paid eight dollars in taxes last year.

If we are to estimate the scarcity of money by the amount of real estate which is sold in payment of taxes, it must be rather considerable. Thus I recently saw not less than six long columns in the *Wisconsin Avis* [?]¹ filled with lists of farms and city lots, one to each line, which were sold in December, 1844, for delinquency in payment of taxes, and which cannot be reclaimed unless the obligations are met before December 10 of this year. This list applied only to Dane County, in which Madison is located; the entire population of the county in 1844 was only about four thousand; since then it has risen to ten or twelve thousand. But the amount of the taxes is more dependent on the number of acres of land involved than on the population, as a large

¹ The *Wisconsin Avis* is possibly the *Wisconsin Argus*, founded in August, 1844, or the *Wisconsin Democrat*, founded in 1846.

part of the land belongs to nonresident speculators. The very insignificance of the amount involved is probably just as much the reason for negligence in the payment of taxes as actual financial distress. Furthermore, the speculators grow weary of paying taxes for property that is bringing them no income. Dane County contains 1,235 square miles or sections, each containing 640 acres. One section in every township—that is, a thirty-sixth part of all the land—is the property of the schools; this causes a considerable reduction in the school tax, which would otherwise be quite heavy, as the teachers are well paid; they receive between fifteen and twenty-five dollars a month, I am told, besides their board. In the above discussion of the taxes no account is taken of church expenses, of course, nor of certain other obligations, such as work on the roads.

The economic situation, accordingly, is by no means ideal, as indeed the legislature itself admits through its frequent petitions to Congress for help in carrying its heavy financial burdens. Nevertheless there can be no doubt of the fact that a territory so richly blessed with natural resources is certain to acquire a high degree of prosperity as soon as it has had time to develop them. The country, now almost flat, now gently rolling, with its woods and its open prairies, its lakes and its streams, not only affords some of the finest scenery that can be found anywhere, but, through its distribution of natural resources as well as its clear, pure air, is particularly well suited for habitation, much more so than most of the other western districts. The rich soil amply rewards one's efforts; and the raising of sheep and cattle, bee-farming, the [maple] sugar industry—all thrive in this favored clime.

Even if his produce does not command a high price, it means much to a farmer to be able to provide with ease practically everything he needs in the way of food and clothing. I could easily put myself in the place of a farmer,

who, as he ate his simple meal, patted himself on the stomach and exclaimed: "I must say, the food here is fine; we never need to be afraid of starving." That means a great deal. Hunger is an enemy from which many of our highlanders in Norway never feel safe. Even if parliament and the administration manage the ship of state to perfection (and they do, of course, as you know), nevertheless they can never succeed in bringing it to anchor south of the forty-third degree of latitude any more than they can toss overboard the fearful ballast of naked rock which encumbers it. Just think what an impression it would make on a poor highlander's imagination to be told that some day he might eat wheat bread every day and pork at least three times a week! The fact that wages are not dropping in this country in spite of the increasing stream of immigration seems to be a clear indication that the country is rising in prosperity and that agriculture does pay. The following table, giving the results of an experiment at Rock Prairie, points in the same direction. It is found in a recent publication, *Sketches of the West or the Home of the Badgers*.² The man who carried out the experiment hired others to do all the work. The expenses were: for 80 acres at \$1.25 per acre, \$100; fencing, \$230; clearing, \$160; seed, \$75; planting, \$108; harrowing, \$90; harvesting, \$150; in all, \$813. The 80 acres produced 26 bushels per acre, or a total of 2,080 bushels; subtracting a tenth for threshing, we have left 1,872 bushels, which at 45 cents per bushel give us \$842.40—in other words, a clear profit of \$29.40, after meeting the entire expense of purchase, fencing, and cultivation in one year! I have asked people both as to the reasonableness of the individual items in the table and as to the reliability of the man himself, and I have in both cases received the most reassuring replies. Both the number of

² This anonymous volume was published by J. A. Hopkins (Milwaukee, 1847).

bushels per acre and the price are not at all unusual. If there is any mistake in the figures, I must confess that I cannot find it. No account is taken of the expense of putting up buildings, of course, because the owner lives in a near-by town.

I must add that, among all the people I have talked with—and they are not a few—I have found very few who said they were dissatisfied and wanted to return to Norway, and with some of these it was more a matter of talk than of a real desire to go. One man said he wanted to return home because his wife did not like it here; another, who said he was a Quaker, was dissatisfied with the schools. Both of them had been talking in this vein for a long time, without making any real move in that direction but rather the opposite. A little merchant from Drammen, on the other hand, seemed to mean it seriously; he has been rather unfortunate, for which I am sorry, as he seems to be a very fine man. And it is not strange if there are some who have been ruined through their emigration. The emigration fever spread through our country districts like a disease, paying no heed to age or sex, rich or poor, the diligent worker or the lazy good-for-nothing. Naturally, many have emigrated who are totally unfit for the strenuous life here, which demands so much energy, common sense, and endurance if one is to succeed. It is equally true that many have made a mistake in buying or claiming land before they had either the necessary understanding or means to proceed with its cultivation. The fact that there have not been more wrecks than there have, in view of all the mistakes made, gives evidence both of the inherent strength of character of our people and of the excellence of the country itself.

I do not mean to imply that few complaints are heard. Quite the contrary. In addition to the fact that many, indeed most, admit that they had expected the land to be far better than it actually proved to be and that they had

been fooled, to some extent, by the false reports contained in letters, there are many other complaints; but all of them are of such a nature that time and habit will presumably remedy the situation. Some complain that the work is too strenuous, others that there is so much ungodliness, others that there is too much sickness. One woman complained that there seemed to be less real nourishment in the food here than in Norway; no matter how much good food she gave her husband, he simply would not gain in weight. Possibly, she thought, and very likely with good reason, this was due to the severe heat which, coupled with strenuous labor, sapped his energy.

Practically all the Norwegians have been sick, some of them as much as a year at a time, and this misfortune has hampered many. When I told a group of Norwegians at Muskego that Mr. Fribert had written a book in which he says that Wisconsin is one of the most healthful places on earth, they all laughed; yet Fribert's opinion coincides with that of American physicians, and, indeed, it is put down as an indisputable fact in books, papers, and official documents. It is included as a standing expression in all official speeches and as the fairest rose in the rhetorical bouquet which the governor presents to his legislature at the opening of its annual session. It is not even conceded that, as in every newly settled country, there is naturally a great deal of sickness which will gradually disappear. Such sickness, they say, is caused by the cutting away of the woods; the vegetable matter which covers the ground is thus exposed to sun and wind, its decomposition is quickened and the air becomes polluted. But, in Wisconsin, they say, there are woods only in small parts of the state, most of which consists of open prairies that of course do not have to be cleared.

In answer to this argument I merely point to the daily newspapers, which are half filled with all kinds of quack

advertisements of pills and marvelous medicines against fever and ague and bilious fever, and to a certain Dr. Champion, who drove by here most ostentatiously the other day with two huge boxes of pills. I do not believe there is any other country on earth where sound, healthy people use as much medicine as here, for the prevention of disease. But, of course, you may say that there is sickness in every country, Norway included. "We carry on the sale of pills, as we do everything else here, on a large scale," it is said; and, of course, every man is entitled to his own opinion. Still it is a fact that many people have suffered much from these fevers, especially the immigrants. Last fall was particularly bad in this respect, as the heat had been oppressive. This year the situation is not quite so bad. I have been in the best of health, with the exception of a few days, in spite of the abrupt changes from hot to cold weather which we have had and which are said to have been particularly severe this year. Many complain of the sudden change from the severely cold winter to the hot summer, a condition which is said to prevail in most parts of America; for example, in New York the winter is said to be as cold as in Christiania and the summer as hot as in Naples; I do not know how much truth there is in that.

Some complain that the thunderstorms and other natural phenomena here are so violent that the uninitiated become thoroughly alarmed. A Norwegian family found it so terrifying at first to see "the heavens in a blaze" that they crept into a cellar. It is true that the thunder rumbles with great majesty here and that the lightning flashes across the heavens in a particularly lively fashion, when a storm is given free rein, and that happens often.

The worst complaint of all is homesickness; everyone experiences that, of course. But time can heal even deeper wounds than that of having been severed from one's native land. Furthermore, most of the immigrants seem to cher-

ish more or less consciously a hope of returning some day to their native land, having realized only after they had broken away how strong were the ties that held them there.

In addition to all these troubles and complaints, I found, particularly among those who had owned considerable property in Norway, a quite general feeling of satisfaction that they had come, built rather on their hopes for the future, to be sure, than on what they had already achieved. Among those who have worked their way up from poverty this feeling of satisfaction is so great that they are likely to overestimate their present prosperity. A certain Lars Hedemarken (or Rollo, after the farm by that name in Ringsaker) is now a well-to-do man and is highly esteemed for his uprightness. I mentioned one of the largest farms in Ringsaker and asked him how he would like to trade his present farm for that one.³ He said he would not do so under any circumstances, chiefly because the farm in Ringsaker would prove far too small for all his sons, while here the whole prairie was theirs. His house was one of the better kind. Very few Norwegians have yet built comfortable houses. The great majority live in log cabins of the sort that can be erected in a day.

You will probably ask if I found anything that would indicate that dissatisfaction with political conditions in Norway had influenced anyone to emigrate; in Norway, as you know, there has been considerable loose talk to this effect. Of course I could not very well ask people bluntly for fear that they might suspect me of being some sort of inquisitor. Nevertheless I gave them all an opportunity to express themselves on this question by asking them their motives for emigrating. All except one, who said he had religious grounds, spoke of economic motives, of the hope that their children would have a better future here, and so forth. Only two people remarked casually that people in Norway did not

³ Ringsaker is a district a short distance north of Oslo.

enjoy so great a degree of freedom. I asked one of them if he did not think that the people are their own masters and lawmakers in Norway also, but he answered that this was only on paper. "A person there isn't even master of his own body"—which, however, could as well be said of people here in America. The same man expressed his satisfaction with economic conditions, by saying, "Here even a tramp can enjoy a chicken dinner once in a while." I do not know whether or not he had read the familiar story about Henry IV.⁴

Although I did hear even fewer comments on Norwegian politics than on American, nevertheless I do not deny that political conditions may have influenced some, either directly or indirectly, to emigrate. Democratic institutions are no doubt very beneficial, but they have never been known to make people rest satisfied for any length of time. In absolute monarchies we generally find things running along peacefully enough; but, in the constitutional, there is continual restlessness. There is a constant clamor for more and more rights and a continual striving toward democratic government, while in republics there is soon a tendency to run to still greater extremes. Undoubtedly there are many who would feel quite content to be subject to Russia or Austria, but in Norway, which approaches republican ideals, people complain about lack of freedom. Political rights awaken the intellect, cause us to look around, and thus lead us into meditations, sensible or foolish according to our understanding and temperament, but in many cases leading to practical results. If you add to this our inherited wanderlust, the miserliness of the soil, as well as the tendency to follow the example of others, especially one's own relatives, and a few tempting falsehoods, either the result of speculation or of conceit—then you have solved the emigration puzzle.

⁴ King Henry IV of France is said to have expressed the wish that every peasant in the kingdom might be able to have a chicken in the pot for his Sunday dinner.

IX

FRONTIER AGRICULTURE

You will have noticed that I continually speak of the Norwegians alone, without saying anything about the Swedes or the Danes. The reason is that there are too few of them to be regarded as distinct social groups or to exert much influence on the Norwegians. A few of them live among the Norwegians, but most of them seem to prefer to live in small groups apart from the rest. It is true, of course, that here and wherever Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes appear among strangers far away from their mother countries, they become more conscious of their relationship and learn, to some degree at least, to regard one another as countrymen. But the characteristic qualities as well as the sentiments and traditions on which their distinct nationalities are based are by no means blotted out. I do not find among them anything approaching "the Pan-Scandinavian idea."¹ I really believe it is on account of its Scandinavian

¹ The Scandinavian movement aimed to establish a union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The European wars following the French Revolution caused great danger to the smaller states such as Denmark-Norway, which strove to maintain its neutrality. Sweden adopted the same policy in 1794, and a treaty of alliance was concluded with Denmark-Norway. Thus circumstances "changed the hatred and mistrust between the Northern kingdoms into a feeling of friendship." As early as 1792 the Danish historian, Sneedorff, spoke in favor of a united Scandinavia. Although the rash king, Frederick VI of Denmark-Norway, brought on a war with Sweden in 1808, the sentiments in the countries were not hostile, particularly as between Norway and Sweden. When at the same time Russia seized Finland and invaded Sweden, Prince Charles August, commander of the Norwegian army, although then at war with Sweden, agreed not to invade that country; he realized that Russia, despite the existing situation, was the common foe of the Scandinavians. The advance of the Russians revived Pan-Scandinavian sentiment. There was an effort to make Frederick VI of

tendencies that a newspaper which is published in New York² has been declared by the Norwegians here in the West to be just a "little too high-toned" for them; certainly I cannot see anything particularly "high-toned" in it otherwise. The original plan was to give the Muskego paper a Scandinavian name, but, as its present name indicates,

Denmark-Norway Swedish crown prince, as the newly elected King Charles XIII had no heirs, but Frederick defeated the plan himself by refusing to accept the crown if Sweden had a constitution limiting the power of the king.

After Denmark had been forced to cede Norway to Sweden in 1813, the relations between Sweden and Denmark remained hostile for a time, but romanticism again awakened Pan-Scandinavian sentiment, especially among the students of the Northern universities. After 1837 the students and professors at the universities of Lund and Copenhagen began to pay each other friendly visits, and this movement soon assumed great proportions. In 1845 students from Upsala, Lund, and Christiania attended a great festival in Copenhagen. The movement had the support of leading poets and scholars in all three countries—Grundtvig and Oehlenschläger in Denmark; Geijer and Tegnér in Sweden; and Welhaven, Andreas Munch, Bjørnson, and Ibsen in Norway. It flourished almost exclusively among the students, however, and "rested on no firmer foundation than a wave of evanescent sentiment." "But it had sounded a chord of sympathy and friendship which might have continued to reverberate with still deeper meaning if the whole idea had not been wrecked by the attempt to press it into a service for which it was not adequately adapted. In Denmark, the real home of the movement, the hope seems to have been entertained from the very outset that the Scandinavian sentiment would culminate in a political union, which might be used by the Danes in repelling German aggression in Schleswig-Holstein." At the student festival at Copenhagen in 1845 students from all three countries took a solemn vow to support the common cause even unto death. But the political leaders in Norway and Sweden and the people as a whole felt differently about it, and let Denmark fight it out alone, although some Norwegian and Swedish students fought on the Danish side as volunteers.

At the same time the union of Sweden and Norway, entered into in 1814, was causing no end of friction, and the efforts on the part of Sweden to amalgamate the two countries under Swedish leadership were firmly opposed by the Norwegian nationalists. "When the Norwegian Storting in 1871 refused to agree to the proposed revision of the Act of Union, political Scandinavianism vanished." The union between Sweden and Norway was broken in 1905 and thus all three Scandinavian countries became wholly independent. Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, 2: 380-406, 500-504, 517-518, 527-529.

² See *ante*, p. xx.

this idea was dropped. That which at any rate sounds most Scandinavian is the fact that each of the three countries has its representative among the three clergymen already mentioned.

If the Norwegians, the Swedes, and the Danes had lived a little closer together and if there had been more Swedes and Danes, it would have been quite interesting to find out to which of the other two groups our countrymen would have given the preference. As things are, however, there has not been enough intercourse and acquaintanceship established. Opinions on this question, accordingly, are based merely on individual persons and particular circumstances. I asked a couple of Norwegians which they preferred and both replied in favor of the Danes. One of them went so far as to say: "Oh, you know that," and I had to assure him that I had no idea as to his preference. I infer that he had formed his opinion before he left Norway, probably based on the ancient prejudice against the Swedes still prevailing in his particular locality. If he had formed his opinion after he came to this country, he would not have assumed that I knew his preference. I remember that a Norwegian sailor who had worked for many years among people of other nationalities told me on the voyage over that he liked the Swedes the better. He thought the Danes were a little too sly. This opinion was scarcely based on prejudices from the old country, although nowadays some people maintain that, in pleading for the new Pan-Scandinavian movement, the Danes are merely trying to fool us again, just as they did a few hundred years ago; but, of course, all this discussion has come up since this man left Norway. This craftiness on the part of the Danes, accordingly, was probably his own discovery, based on his chance acquaintances, and can scarcely have any general application. You will see, then, that I have not been very successful in finding out whether our countrymen prefer the Swedes or the Danes.

Or shall we jump at the conclusion that the Danes are better on land, and the Swedes at sea?

As I have been unable to give you much satisfaction as regards the economic situation among our countrymen, you will probably not expect to hear much about the different kinds of soil, the various types of cultivation, the use of fertilizer, the sugar industry, or bee-farming. Neither do I suppose you expect to find out whether it is advisable to raise large or small stock, sheep or pigs, chickens, geese, ducks, or doves. You will find far better discussions of such things elsewhere than I could possibly give. My letter has already become far too long and I still have much else to talk about. Here you will have to be content with a few scattered impressions. It is my opinion that if it is impossible to get a combination of woods and prairie or glade, it is advisable to take prairie land. It appeared to me that those who lived out on the prairie as a rule were more successful than those who had cut their way into the woods. All the prairie farmers I spoke with said they were well pleased with their choice, a thing which I cannot say of the settlers in the woods; many of them had already toiled for three or four years without being able to raise enough food for their own use, whereas one or two years will generally suffice to fill the barns out on the prairies. The reason is, quite obviously, that it takes many times as much work to clear and cultivate wooded land. A poor man, who finds it difficult to hire help, is at a great disadvantage if he settles on woodland, while out on the prairie, for the same work or at the same expense, he can obtain a far richer harvest. For well-to-do people this does not mean so much and yet even such people do not seem to have succeeded so well on woodland as one might expect. I think capital can be invested more profitably than in felling trees. The experiment at Rock Prairie seems to point in the same direction.

A very profitable business consists in buying up large

stretches of prairie land, taking part of it into use for oneself and then parceling the rest out into farms for sale, building a log cabin on each and plowing up an acre or so; immigrants are glad to pay a fairly good price for such a farm, as they like to have a house ready to receive them when they arrive and to find the work of cultivation already begun. I know many Norwegians who have made good profits in this way, and I have met no one who denied that it was a paying business. It is hardly true that woodland is more fertile than prairie land, as a general rule, and even if it were the case, that advantage is more than counter-balanced by the saving in money and labor through not having to clear away the woods, and it is thus possible on prairie land to devote all the more care and effort to the cultivation itself.

It is probably true that it is harder to find water on the prairie than in the woods, and yet it is only necessary to be somewhat careful in choosing land. And one must not lose patience if water is not struck at a depth of thirty or forty feet. It is in any case necessary to drill, and that is not very expensive in most places. Even at Rock Prairie, where water is particularly difficult to obtain, the worst case I heard of was one where it was necessary to drill 120 feet. Somewhere near Milwaukee there is a place where no water has been struck even at a depth of 140 feet, but I believe this was not on a prairie. The other day I told Mr. Irvin, a member of the supreme court of the territory, that I had heard that water was easier to obtain in the woods than on the prairie.³ He said that was hardly the case. He is particularly well acquainted with the counties along Rock River from his many trips as circuit judge, pursuing criminals and prairie chickens with equal ardor; he said that

³ David Irvin, of Virginia, was appointed as one of the three justices of the supreme court in 1836, when Wisconsin became a territory. See Quaife, *Wisconsin*, 1: 455.

the prairies are well supplied with springs. Of course, he is one of those people who do not care to admit that there is anything wrong with this country and so one must take whatever he says with a grain of salt.

Out on the prairie, of course, there is no timber for buildings, fences, kindling, and the like. But there is nothing to prevent a man from buying a small strip of woods also, as near his farm as possible; nowhere is woodland very far away. To have his woods one or two miles away may be somewhat inconvenient, and yet in Norway we are certainly accustomed to greater distances than that. To be sure, most of the woodland in the vicinity of the prairies is in the hands of speculators but their price is not as a rule more than two or three dollars per acre, or about twice the government price. Near Rock Prairie and other particularly attractive prairies, the price is somewhat higher. The fact that so much of the woodland is held by speculators is, however, an advantage rather than a disadvantage; people are all too apt to cut down the woods indiscriminately. But some say that even if the woods are destroyed in this way, the situation will not become really serious, because they will plant locust trees, or "Lucas-trees" as they often call them, which grow very rapidly. It did not appear that anything was being done in this direction, however, and some claim it is rather difficult to make them grow. It is also true, of course, that out on the prairie, the sugar industry is out of the question as there are no maple trees to furnish sap; yet this business demands so much time that it scarcely pays as well as agriculture. So I was told by an intelligent man in the wooded district about Ashippun.

One type of land which hitherto has been scorned is now beginning to attract attention and large areas of this nature are being cultivated as the population in the southern part of the state becomes greater. I refer to the marshy land; it is generally found to be fertile and not hard to drain.

As it is generally agreed that woods and prairie together are far better than either one by itself, you will ask, why not take the best? That is perfectly possible, if one is willing to pay the speculator's price. Otherwise it is hardly possible to get such a combination, unless there is something wrong with it otherwise, such as inferior soil or an unhealthy climate, at least anywhere near the larger settlements in the south. On the other hand, if one goes into the newer settlements or up north, there is plenty left. Recently a number of people have settled in the vicinity of Lake Winnebago. Those going to that settlement need not go to Milwaukee but may leave the boat at Sheboygan, some miles to the north. Quite a number of Norwegians have gone to work in the newly opened copper mines near Lake Superior but I do not believe that any of them have settled there. In Columbia County, formerly a part of Portage County, near the Wisconsin River, about twenty miles north from Madison, there seems to be some room near the Norwegian settlement.

As there are everywhere people living on land which they have not paid for, it is necessary for the immigrant to be careful to avoid getting into trouble. Even if the map at the land office designates a piece of land as unoccupied, there may be someone living there and one will either simply have to leave well enough alone or else pay him whatever people decide is fair. This is in accordance with the famous "Club Law" which the people have established as a protection against a clause in the act of Congress by which it is specified that if a person is not able to pay for a piece of claimed land after a year he loses all rights to it. The people have organized themselves to oppose this clause and they arrange things as they please between the buyer and the holder of such a piece of land.⁴ The buyer runs the risk

⁴ For studies of similar organizations in Iowa and in Minnesota, see Benjamin F. Shambaugh, "Frontier Land Clubs or Claim Associations," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1900, vol. 1, p. 67-84,

of being seized and forced to waive his right to the property and to write out a deed on whatever conditions they dictate. Many Norwegians are members of such organizations, but they often get into trouble because they are not so clever at it as the Yankees, who know how to introduce a certain appearance of law and order even into a practice which in the nature of the case is the direct opposite of law and order.

Recently a Norwegian in Milwaukee bought some land occupied by a Norwegian at Koshkonong. When he came to take possession he was seized during the night by a group of people with their faces blackened, whose speech and actions revealed that they were Norwegians; they mistreated him more or less and forced him to give a written promise that he would make out a deed. This he later refused to do, of course, and even succeeded in having them fined. The trouble was that they had gone ahead on their own initiative without consulting the president of the organization and letting him arrange matters according to the rules. To put an end to such abuses the legislature has petitioned Congress to prolong the period for the payment of land held on claim to five years. It is plain that a respite of only one year is worse than useless, because a man who has no money at the beginning of the year is practically sure to be just as badly off at the end of the year, as the first year always brings heavy expenses and little or no income.

The maps of the land office, in addition to the fact that they do not indicate what land is really unoccupied, soon become quite unreliable in respect to what is actually sold, because of the heavy stream of immigration. The best procedure is to ask at the office itself. Presumably new stretches of land will soon be for sale, because the district between the Wisconsin and the Mississippi rivers is being surveyed now. Most of the Indians have already been driven out of this territory.

and Charles J. Ritchey, "Claim Associations and Pioneer Democracy in Early Minnesota," in *Minnesota History*, 9: 85-95 (June, 1928).

Although I said I should not venture on a discussion of the respective merits of the various farm animals, I cannot refrain from saying a few kind words on behalf of the favored pets of the Americans — namely, the swine. I have not yet found any city, county, or town where I have not seen these lovable animals wandering about peacefully in huge herds. Everywhere their domestic tendencies are much in evidence; no respectable sow appears in public unless she is surrounded by a countless number of her beloved offspring. These family groups are a pleasing sight to the Americans, not only because they mean increasing prosperity but also because a young porker is a particularly delicious morsel. Besides, the swine have shown certain good traits which are of real practical value; in the country they greedily devour all kinds of snakes and the like, of which there are more than is ordinarily supposed, and in the towns they are very helpful in keeping the streets “cleaner than man can do” by eating up all kinds of refuse. And then, when these walking sewers are properly filled up they are butchered and provide a real treat for the dinner-table. There are no respectable homes out here in the West where pork is not served at least three times a day—morning, noon, and night. As with everything else that is typically American, this fondness for pork is most noticeable in the West. In New York war has even been declared against these animals; it was decreed that any pig found walking the streets of New York after the first of July this year should be outlawed and become the property of anyone who could catch it. I do not know if the law was dropped or if a common feeling of sympathy prevented its execution, but at any rate I have seen pigs wandering about just as freely as ever, even after that ominous day, on Broadway itself, and evidently with perfect peace of mind, just as though no one had ever thought of depriving them of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

X

AMERICAN CUSTOMS

I suppose I have now prepared the way for a discussion of manners and customs out here in the West and particularly in Wisconsin, but I do not care to make use of the opportunity. Read half a dozen English travel accounts but subtract at least half of what is said at the expense of the Americans and you will possibly have cleared away the exaggerated statements so often made, partly on account of British prejudice and partly from a desire to be entertaining, and even so, that which remains will apply only to the West. Out here the customs are somewhat primitive, to be sure, and as every one wants to be "independent in his own way," difficulties do arise once in a while. On the other hand, you will find that at any rate the most common and urgent rules of etiquette are recognized here as well as in more civilized communities, and there are circles even here where a higher culture is to be found. The oft-repeated account that servants here eat together with their masters as a rule applies only to the country districts. I have not noticed, at any rate, any particular difference between usage here and in Norway on this point. That the driver sits together with his passengers at the restaurants in country towns seems to indicate some dropping of class distinction, and yet I am sure we could find much the same in Norway. I remember reading in one of our Norwegian papers a letter from an emigrant, from Gausdal,¹ I believe, who mentioned as one of the glorious privileges of life in America that one need not take his hat off in the presence of an official. He seemed to find a special satisfaction in

¹ Gausdal is a valley in southeastern Norway, north of Oslo.

this circumstance because one of the important phases of liberty, in his mind, was that he no longer felt obliged to respect the rules of etiquette to which he had been accustomed before. As far as his statement is concerned, it is true that a government office here is regarded as a public place. Such accounts and others of its kind coincide pretty well with the English travel sketches; both strive to exaggerate in the same way, but from entirely different motives; the one depicts as the glorious fruits of liberty that which the other caricatures as the extreme forms of license.

Even if this simplicity sometimes appears in the form of vulgarity, we do often find it in a form that is both venerable and noble, as befits a republic which claims to have its roots in the virtues of its citizens. Together with Mr. Irvin I recently visited a man who lives about seven miles from Madison; he was recently a member of the supreme court in Connecticut and was a candidate for the office of governor in that state. When his party was defeated, he took his family out here to the West and now he lives in a log cabin of two rooms, with a shanty for a kitchen. But he is surrounded by 1,100 acres of excellent land, all of which is his property. We received a friendly welcome, but no one made a move to unhitch the horses, although a number of energetic looking young people came out whose dress and general appearance did not seem to indicate that they were above such work. Judge Irvin did not show the least surprise, however, and I did not feel inclined to find fault with what appeared to be the usage in the country. We unhitched the horses and gave them water after one of the young gentlemen had told us where we could find a pail. I do not call them "gentlemen" in jest; most of them, we found, were sons of our host and none of them servants. Such gentlemen do all kinds of labor for themselves and their families, but not as servants to others. After having partaken of a particularly plain dinner we made a trip in

our buggies to inspect the surrounding prairies and oak openings, and finally we parted pleasantly from our Connecticut friends and hurried back to Madison. Woe unto him who tries to travel on Wisconsin roads by night! There are a great number of tree stumps out in the very middle of the road, on the sides, and everywhere, and each of them is like a Polish nobleman who is able to put an absolute and final veto to any progress. But as people out here do not appreciate such vetoes, especially when they may involve broken necks, they naturally do all their traveling in the daytime. Even so, one is occasionally held back by a "suspensive veto," and the overturned buggies and fragments of wheels bear evidence of the fact that even here in America constitutional progress has its particular impediments!

A Whig from Ohio recently told me, to show how unjust people were in accusing the last Whig governor of Ohio of putting on aristocratic airs, that both before and after he became governor he took an active part in the work on his farm and managed his own flour mill; if you called on him out on the farm you were practically sure of finding him attired in a coarse jacket, with his trousers rolled up and covered with flour dust. A Norwegian living here, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, told me that one time as he was eating dinner at a hotel, he noticed a well-dressed man who looked strangely familiar to him. He thought he had seen him half an hour before in plain working clothes on top of a house repairing the chimney. He noticed that the man seemed to be treated with the utmost respect at the dinner-table. It proved to be His Excellency, the governor; the chimney of his house had been blown down in a storm the night before.

Such accounts make no other impression in many parts of Europe than as further proofs of the barbaric conditions that prevail in America. We Norwegians, I believe, are as a rule so democratic in our sentiments as well as in our prin-

ciples that such accounts rather appeal to us. Why should we feel irritated if we find here those very traits which distinguished the ancient Romans at their best? That which made Rome the mightiest republic of antiquity has contributed not a little toward making America the most remarkable nation of modern times, an object of admiration to many, and of dismay to others, but of amazement to everyone in all parts of the civilized world. Besides, there is no danger that their code of etiquette will remain the same for all time. In the East the situation is already quite different and the stories just related sound just as strange to easterners as to Europeans. People there, not knowing conditions in the West, are all the more violent in their protests against British accounts, which really do contain some truth as far as the West is concerned. On the other hand, very little can be said in criticism of the easterners which does not apply equally well to the Englishmen themselves, and indeed, the very same criticisms are made by people on the continent at the expense of the Englishmen! People in the West have maintained the customs of their respective native countries and, naturally, have many peculiarities. But it is strange to see how the British critics, blind to all peculiarities in their own country, come to this country with their eyes wide open for faults, and criticize the very same peculiarities here which travelers in England, particularly the Frenchmen, make so much fun of. This often gives the Americans opportunities for clever retaliation against the Englishmen. I will give a few examples. Many Englishmen, for example, Hamilton,² complain of the fact that

² Thomas Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America* (London, 1833). As to the use of melted butter, note for example, in volume 1, page 253, a description of a meal at a New England inn: "beef-steaks, broiled fowl, ham, cold turkey, toast—not made in the English fashion, but boiled in melted butter." And in volume 2, page 5: "The national propensity for grease is inordinate. It enters largely into the composition of every dish, and constitutes the sole ingredient of many."

melted butter is always served with the meals; Americans answer this accusation by relating what Prince Caraccioli, the Neapolitan ambassador, said about England after living in London for many years: "My God! what sort of country is this for a Christian to live in! Twenty kinds of religion and only one kind of gravy!" Nearly every Englishman complains of the way in which Americans eat eggs; they always empty them into a glass.³ But the former French minister, Baron Haussez, in his book makes fun of the Englishmen for eating their eggs out of the shell like barbarians, instead of eating them as omelets; and Baron Haussez certainly was a cultured gentleman and a connoisseur, if ever there was one. The Yankees furthermore call attention to the fact that, in addition to their many other excellent qualities, they know how to make some very tempting omelets and eat their eggs in that style just as often as they do out of a glass.

That which has annoyed me most in my associations with the Americans is their prejudice against Europe, which they regard as hopelessly lost in slavery and wretchedness. Three-fourths of the people in the East and ninety-nine hundredths of the people in the West are fully convinced that the other side of the Atlantic is nothing but a heap of medieval feudal states, which, indeed, show some slight indication of reform here and there, but have not made much political progress and have not enough vitality to rise from the abyss of misery and corruption into which they have fallen as the result of centuries of ignorance and despotism; their doom is inevitable. If one tries to dispute any portion of this creed of theirs, they simply point to the

³ Note, for example, Hamilton, *Men and Manners*, volume 1, page 25: "One nasty custom, however, I must notice. Eggs, instead of being eaten from the shell, are poured into a wine-glass and, after being duly and disgustingly churned up with butter and condiment, the mixture, according to its degree of fluidity, is forthwith either spooned into the mouth or drunk off like a liquid."

foreigners: "What further evidence is needed than these immigrants who swarm into our country by the hundreds of thousands every year with the traces of suffering unmistakably written on their faces and curses in their mouths at the tyranny they are escaping?"

They simply cannot see, especially when they are in a group, that a monarchical form of government can be combined with any liberty. When I speak to them individually I generally am somewhat successful in my argument, but even then it is difficult enough. I usually start out by reminding my man how much damage was done by the party opposite to the one to which he belongs, the last time it was in power, when the members of the legislature, the governor, the judges, the sheriffs, the coroners, the supervisors, the treasurers, and so on, and so on, were all of them Locos, or Whigs, as the case may be. So far we agree, of course; that really was a disgraceful tyranny, no doubt about that. The next point is to get him to admit that in Europe the monarchic element, at the same time that it must yield to the wishes of the majority, is, nevertheless, powerful enough to protect the minority against oppression so that everyone may enjoy a certain amount of liberty or, at any rate, freedom from arbitrariness on the part of anyone. As I said, I sometimes succeed with this line of argument but never before a group of people; then they laugh at me, accusing me of trying to establish a monarchy here, but I assure you I keep myself purely on the defensive and only sally forth when anyone indulges in an altogether too extravagant eulogy of republicanism. If I lived here I should certainly not propose the setting up of a king, but I should fondly imagine myself to be a little less prejudiced in the matter than some of my neighbors. But, as a matter of course, I should certainly under no circumstances attempt a defense of absolute monarchy, Danish, Russian, or whatever form it may appear in.

One would suppose it would do the Americans good to be attacked on their own field once in a while on the problems of slavery and repudiation. But it is a rather difficult task. The first problem is so serious and, indeed, so ominous that a stranger who wishes to avoid unpleasantness had better treat it very discreetly. The manner in which it has been discussed, the great interests involved, the blood and the guilt that are associated with it, have filled the minds with such bitterness that the least remark may sometimes give occasion to a veritable outburst of passion, even here in the North, where people as a rule are so considerate and where their interests are not so closely concerned. My own sentiments in regard to slavery are as moderate as can possibly be expected of one who has been brought up quite away from its influence. I admit the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of abolishing slavery now; and yet I have not escaped being called a fanatic because I could not positively affirm that nature itself had designated the blacks as inferior to the whites, that they had a bad odor, and so on. Besides, you often hear remarks about the factory slaves in England, the mistreatment of Jews everywhere in Europe, and so forth. As far as the treatment of the Jews is concerned, I have more wisely than honestly refrained from giving much information about what we do in Norway. If someone should press the matter, I should be in a bad fix but I suppose I should have to admit the truth, much as I am ashamed of it.⁴

As far as the repudiation question is concerned, I must confess that I have not made headway there either. My

⁴ Paragraph 2 of the Norwegian constitution of 1814 specified that Jews were still to be excluded from the kingdom. "The poet Henrik Wergeland waged a determined fight to secure the passage of an amendment to the constitution which should grant the Jews the right to reside in Norway with all the privileges enjoyed by other citizens. The amendment was finally adopted in 1851, six years after his death." Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, 2: 474.

opponents even had the temerity to deny that there were repudiating states. After we had become clear as to our terminology, they would generally reply that such conditions were even worse in Europe, not only in countries that were actually faced with a financial crisis but even in England, where the interest on the national debt during the Revolutionary War was paid in bills a few per cent below par. The only satisfaction I ever obtained in such an argument was when a Whig whispered in my ear that he, too, was of the opinion that Indiana, Pennsylvania, Texas, and a few other states had acted disgracefully. The unscrupulous Locos were to blame. When the Whigs had been in power and had initiated a number of useful enterprises, the Locos gained the upper hand and refused to pay the bills.

If the Americans hear of any scandal from some European court or of corruption in some European government, both of which have been rather plentiful this last year, they at once use it as a weapon against the monarchical system itself. It is a rather big job to defend all Europe; and I have on various occasions declined to do so, no matter how agreeable it might be once in a while to lay aside my little Norwegian, or even Scandinavian, patriotism and to pose as the champion of a whole continent. It does not help much to reject this constituency of two hundred million people, because people here do not recognize many differences among the various nations; every European is responsible for the whole thing. They have a special grudge against England, to be sure, in return for the English prejudice against them. Even the strong resemblance between these two nations and the common origin of their institutions only tend to irritate them the more. The Englishmen, who regard their own laws and institutions as quite ideal, naturally consider the development which has taken place in America a degeneration and perversion. The Yankees, on the other hand, if possible even more proud of their own, consider

the English institutions to be antiquated and impracticable because they have not kept pace with the improvements and progress made in America.

It is just as true, then, that an American utterly fails to understand England, as is the reverse. Indeed, no European nation need expect a fair judgment in America — but this is not necessarily reciprocal. Experience has shown that Frenchmen are able to view American conditions without any prejudice. The Americans themselves realize this and De Tocqueville's book is as highly esteemed here as in Europe.⁵ The same can also be said of the writings of a considerable number of French scholars and literary men about America, while the English accounts are generally treated with the utmost indignation and disdain.

⁵ Charles Alexis Henri Maurice Clerel de Tocqueville (1805-1859) journeyed to the United States in 1831, together with Gustave de Beaumont, to make a study of American penitentiaries. Upon his return to France he published in 1832 his report, *Du système pénitenciaire aux États-Unis et de son application en France*. The first part of his *La démocratie en Amérique* appeared in 1835, the second part in 1840, and a complete edition in 1868. This work by De Tocqueville is today classed with Bryce's *American Commonwealth* and considered one of the two best books on America written by foreigners.

XI

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

In stating that the Americans consider Europe to be on the decline, I must make an exception in the case of one nation — Russia. I do not know whether it is a case of attraction between unlikes from the viewpoint of government or whether they are merely united in their common dislike for Great Britain. In either case there certainly seems to be a bond of sympathy between these two gigantic nations, each of which appears to be engaged in swallowing an entire continent. One hears very little criticism of the tyrannical Czar, and he is said to be particularly fond of the Americans and has many of them in his employ. Two of them are at the head of a gigantic factory in St. Petersburg, which makes locomotives and cars for the North Russian Railway. Although the newspapers here as a rule express the utmost contempt for orders and such things, they recently took great satisfaction in reporting an honor the Czar had bestowed on these men.

If I remember De Custine's account correctly, the Czar has declared that he can as easily understand a democratic republic, where the people rule, as an autocracy, but that the so-called limited monarchies are a complete riddle to him — they appear to be built on deceit and corruption.¹ This idea fits in well with the American attitude. Both the Russian and the American forms of government are absolute, the only difference being that in one case the majority takes the place of one man. Half of the population minus

¹ Adolphe de Custine (1790-1857), French author, traveled extensively in Italy, Switzerland, England, Spain, and Russia. In 1843 appeared his *La Russie en 1839*, in four volumes.

one is just as dependent on the will of half of the population plus one as the Russian people minus one is dependent on the will of that one man. Even the word "liberty" is used here almost in the same way as in Russia,—that is, only with reference to slavery; the abolitionists are called the "Liberty Party." The word "sovereign," on the other hand, is constantly heard; the voters are spoken of as "sovereigns," both in jest and in earnest. But let us not push the parallel too far. Even if the rule of the majority is not always so favorable to the interests of the minority, it is nevertheless obliged to be somewhat moderate, if only in its own interest. Its laws must as a rule be for the welfare of all and must treat all alike; the members of the party generally have somewhat the same interests as other citizens of the state and its leaders must beware of weakening their party's strength and thus endangering its prestige through unreasonable measures. Their own interests naturally urge them to strive for growth and progress, and even their mistakes rarely have a significant, and never a lasting, effect. The principles of such a government are grounded in the hearts of men and will live long after that form of government which gives the power to one man has been undermined and shattered by the force of the new ideals of civilization.

And what a wonderful example America gives the world of a large number of states living side by side in peace and order! What a marvelous sight, without equal either in the past or the present, to see one state after the other, with hundreds of thousands of citizens, spring up as though out of the soil and then peacefully take its place among its sister states, renouncing the use of arms and pledging allegiance to a common tribunal! Such a condition could be brought about in Europe today only as the result of oppression at the hands of some powerful nation, with the help of millions of bayonets sharpened for the shedding of

blood. Anyone who is able to look beyond the immediate future must surely hope, in the interest of peace and humanity, that this Union may continue to extend its dominion over the continent so that even the stagnating population of Mexico may be aroused to new life under the influence of the Anglo-American race. Must we not see the hand of Providence in the present war, even if it did have a rather unjust beginning? Thus, even through events which in themselves are indefensible from a moral point of view, mankind is led to a realization of the wise plans of God.

But I shall leave this extensive and, I must confess, rather uncertain topic, and confine myself instead to Wisconsin alone. I have already stated that it is richly blessed by nature, and a glance at the map will further convince you that it has a great future. Situated at the intersection of two huge lines of communication, it can with equal facility ship its produce to the manufacturing districts in the East and to the cotton-raising states of the South. In both directions there will always be found an extensive market for its surplus. Factories are beginning to make their appearance in this rich farming territory, so that when the immigrants are no longer streaming in to buy its produce, the factory hands will take their place, as will also the increasing number of miners, and there will thus be created a home market, which, of course, is the best of all. Last, but not least, Wisconsin's location at the end of the Great Lakes will lead to a heavy traffic through its territory when the country to the west becomes settled. Its cities will flourish, and their rapidly increasing population will need still more farm products. In order to utilize all these natural advantages the means of communication must be improved. People are well aware of this fact. Good stagecoaches cross the territory in all directions. There are steamships on Lake Michigan and on Lake Winnebago, and it is planned to operate some at Green Bay also. Many plans have already

been made for the construction of roads. No less than six or seven railroad companies have been authorized and a large number of canal companies. But none of them has secured sufficient capital, and very little has been done as yet. The territory is too new for undertakings of this kind and money is too scarce. But that which is impossible one year is often easily accomplished a year or so later. There can be no doubt about the fact that a few more years will see some of these projects carried through.

One of the most interesting of these projects is the construction of a railroad to connect Milwaukee with some point on the Mississippi. Its immediate purpose would be to transport lead and copper from Mineral Point, Potosi, and a number of other places in the counties to the southwest; this production already runs up to about sixty million pounds. At present the ore is generally shipped down the Mississippi to New Orleans and thence to New York and New England. Lead is now shipped by way of Milwaukee only when the Mississippi is particularly low; then its upper waters are difficult to navigate because very little is done to keep the channel open. At such times, then, one may see huge caravans of so-called prairie schooners on the streets of Milwaukee being loaded with various supplies for the return trip to the mining country; each of the wagons is drawn by three or four, or even more, pairs of oxen. It has been calculated that the income from this traffic alone would operate a railroad.

In Illinois, also, people realize what an advantage it would be to establish a connection by rail between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, and a railroad is now projected to connect Chicago and Galena. The sale of stock has just started and appears to be going well. Without the help of eastern capital this plan cannot be carried out, either, but as soon as the easterners have had their attention directed to this part of the country, both railroads will

be put into operation. The Wisconsin railroad will be the most convenient for the lead transportation, during the summer especially, and as long as no branch line is constructed from the Galena line to the mines. There will probably be more than enough other inland products for the Wisconsin railroad to handle. Chicago will soon be connected with the Mississippi by means of a canal that is almost completed. But this merely connects with the Illinois River, which empties into the Mississippi far to the south, not so far from the junction with the Missouri.

In the near future, probably in December of this year, Milwaukee will have telegraphic connection with the East. All the material for the telegraph line from Buffalo is in readiness and the work is about to commence. The line from New York to Buffalo was completed years ago; from Albany on, its two electric wires run parallel with the railroad track most of the time, fastened to poles high up in the air. At Auburn I had a chance to marvel at the practical value of the thing, when I sent telegrams to some people at Utica and at Syracuse. One has to pay a few cents a line for such correspondence. The telegraph to the south, which connects New York with Washington, is said to be somewhat undependable; the wire is said to be of inferior grade. All such equipment is, of course, exposed to damage at the hands of knaves or fools. Recently, for example, a man near Philadelphia tried to cross the Schuylkill River on the telegraph wires; they broke, of course, and he fell into the river. During the recent fluctuations in the prices of grain, the wires between New York and Boston have been exposed to damage, as speculators tried to stop the news of the sudden drop in prices. Two such knaves were once caught just as they were about to cut the wires; another time the wires were actually cut but the message had already come through. Another line has recently been completed from the East to

Cincinnati, and this is to be extended to Louisville and Chicago next spring.

I must mention one project which would have special interest to Norwegians. There is some talk of lowering Muskego Lake by giving it an outlet to a branch of Rock River. Nothing seems to have been done about it, however. Such a project would probably mean, among other things, that there would be less sickness in the Muskego settlement.

I must not omit to mention a thing of which Wisconsin may boast as proof of the fact that it is distinctly up-to-date. Up in Fond du Lac County, twenty miles west of Lake Winnebago, there is a communistic society which was organized in 1844 in accordance with the plan advocated by Fourier; it occupies the entire township of Ceresco and is incorporated under the state laws.² I have not heard anything about it since last fall; everything was going well then and the original membership of twenty-six had been increased to two hundred. The society had a large dormitory for twenty families, with a long corridor leading to the communal dining room, where all took their meals together. It had been decided to build another dormitory this year, with room for

² François Charles Marie Fourier (1772-1837), in his *Theorie des quatre mouvements*, published in 1808, advocates the establishment of communistic groups, with society divided into departments or *phalanges*, each *phalange* numbering about 1,600 persons. Each *phalange* inhabits a *phalanstère*, or common building, and has a certain portion of soil allotted to it for cultivation. Agriculture is the most important occupation, but each *phalange* is divided into various *series* and *groups*, whose members devote themselves to the occupations that are most to their taste.

In 1844, Warren Chase decided to organize a Fourierite community. By the end of May a constitution had been drawn up, and seventy-one members had joined. An excellent location was selected in Fond du Lac County, where the city of Ripon is now situated. The township was named Ceresco in honor of the goddess Ceres. A log-house, 32 by 208 feet, was built to accommodate twenty families. A charter was obtained from the legislature in 1845. The project was a financial success, and everything went well, but the community gradually drifted in the direction of private ownership, and was dissolved in 1850. Quaife, *Wisconsin*, 1: 497-505.

twenty more families, and another dining room, to be supplied from the same kitchen. "Groups" had been established, but as yet no "series." Evidently not a little was done to further education and religion in the community.

One of the chief objections to Fourier's system is that it disregards the religious element, which must necessarily play a somewhat important part in such a community if it is to succeed. Experience has demonstrated the truth of this statement, both in Europe and in America. The Shakers' establishment at Lebanon, the German community at Economic, Pennsylvania, established by the remarkable patriarch, Father Rapp, who recently died, and the German "Ebenezer Society" near Buffalo—all these are still flourishing, whereas Owen's community at New Harmony, Indiana, which was bought from the Rappists, who lived there before they moved to Pennsylvania, built on purely economic foundations, soon fell into confusion and was discontinued. The same is told of the Fourierite community near Kalamazoo, Michigan. I think that any attempt at organizing labor in order to realize a fairer relationship between labor and wages than what is found in a society where capital reigns supreme is well deserving of our closest attention. Of the various systems proposed, Fourier's has many points in its favor; and it has a number of excellent spokesmen at the present time, particularly in France, who are not frightened at the clamor that has arisen against them but are untiring in their efforts to show people what their system really is instead of what it is said to be. The followers of Fourier are increasing in number, and they are strong and enthusiastic in their faith in the cause. This very fact attracts our attention to them nowadays and marks their endeavor as an historic phenomenon the real meaning and worth of which will appear in the future. There is no doubt about the fact that acute conditions in many countries, where a starving populace eagerly absorbs communis-

tic doctrines, demand attention and remedy. Here there is no such grave danger, but America is a great country for experiments of all kinds. One knows that its part in the future history of the world will be very considerable, and it is only natural that every experiment should be tried which may result in new impulses and possibly greater happiness for humanity.

XII

THE GOVERNMENT OF WISCONSIN

If you have read everything so far you will probably feel as if you have had enough about Wisconsin for one time. It is quite in order, however, to say something about its political institutions,—enough, at least, to show to what extent the territory is its own master. The rule almost seems to be that a territory regards itself as an independent state when that is to its advantage; when this is not the case, it gladly renounces its claims! When suit was brought against it [Wisconsin] for a sum of money a few years ago, it declared that it was not the proper defendant, as it was merely the “property” of Congress. On the other hand, it brings up suits often itself. It is, furthermore, constantly quarreling with Michigan about the border line and with the government at Washington, chiefly on account of its recent treaty with England.¹ This has furnished the politicians with plenty of material for their speeches. Mr. Strong has poured forth his thunder against England and is even said to have threatened war. In the proposed constitution mention is made of Wisconsin’s army and navy, so Great Britain had better beware!

The president and the Senate in Washington appoint the governor, the secretary, who is a sort of minister and vice-governor, the three judges of the supreme court, who are likewise circuit judges and function both in the affairs of

¹ Wisconsin at this time laid claim to the northern part of Illinois, the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, and a large tract of land northwest of Lake Superior, in Canada. The treaty of 1842, in establishing the boundary from Lake Superior to the Rockies, gave to Great Britain some of the territory claimed by Wisconsin. Quaife, *Wisconsin*, 1: 471, 474-476.

the territory and of the nation, both in common law and in equity; and also the territorial attorney and the marshal, who function in federal cases. The governor, who is generally appointed for a term of three years, has a salary of \$2,500 a year; the secretary, whose term of office is four years, receives \$1,200 a year. The judges of the supreme court are appointed for life and are paid \$1,800 a year; they appoint the clerks of court. Justices of the peace, probate officers, and sheriffs were appointed by the governor and the [territorial] Senate up to 1843; but now they, as well as the county and town officials, are elected by the people.

All the officials appointed by Washington are paid from the national treasury, as indeed are the members of the legislature and the jurors. The whole sum is said to amount to about \$50,000 a year. The rule is, strictly speaking, that all those expenses that would be paid out of the state treasury, if Wisconsin were a state, are now provided for by the national treasury. Thus the territory had no income for a long time, but, as Congress was too parsimonious in appropriating money for public enterprises of importance, the territory itself went ahead with them and thus acquired a little debt. In order to provide some resources a territorial tax was introduced, but this is very slight in comparison with the county and town taxes. As an example of the type of expense to be met may be mentioned the cost of the public buildings at Madison; Congress appropriated \$20,000, but the Capitol alone cost \$40,000. In addition, the territory has spent considerable money on roads and has started a canal. Petitions have been made a number of times for a prison, an insane asylum, a hospital for the blind, and one for the deaf, but nothing has been done about them. A few years ago Congress appropriated \$20,000 for a harbor at Milwaukee, and that city has added for this purpose \$10,000 of its own. Generally Congress is most

lavish if it can escape with a gift of land; as you know, all the new land that is obtained from the Indians is the property of the federal government, which reaps the profit from its sale, with the exception of the sections set aside for the use of the schools. Recently Congress made a gift of 46,000 acres of land for the establishment of a university and a great deal of land for the canal project. Nothing further has been done about the university except to appoint a committee; for a number of years it has been occupied with the selection of land and probably is not finished yet.

The legislature consists of two houses, the House of Representatives, with twenty-six members, and the Council, or the Upper House, as I have called it, with thirteen members; the members of the former are elected for a term of two years; of the latter, for four years. Only citizens of the United States may vote and be elected. The legislative power labors under two restrictions: the veto of the governor, and the veto of Congress, which is final. The governor's veto can be overruled by a two-thirds majority of both houses. Thus it is much less suspensive in its effect than the king's veto in Norway; but in order to overrule it the will of the people must be expressed much more strongly and definitely.² In Norway we want the people to have time to reflect on the matter, and that which then finds the greatest popular support becomes law, even if it does not have an overwhelming majority in its favor. The Americans, on the other hand, rush matters according to the wishes of the great majority. Any other form of veto would be quite out of the question in America because the powerless executive would never have the courage to oppose the wishes of the great majority, even if he had a legal

² In order to override the king's veto in Norway it is necessary that a bill be passed in an unchanged form by three successive Storthings. Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, 2: 536.

right to do so. The American veto is, however, applicable to more situations than the Norwegian.

The legislature assembles annually and each member is paid two dollars a day and three dollars for every twenty miles he has to travel. The governor's duties, aside from those already mentioned, are inconsiderable. He may pardon violations of territorial law and postpone the punishment of violations of federal law. It is his duty to see that the laws are enforced; and, if he finds that this is not the case, he presumably brings it to the attention of the offenders, the legislature, or the proper attorney, as the case may be. In addition he commissions all the officials, and he is at the head of the militia, but this has its existence on paper rather than in reality. His most pleasant duty is probably to appoint officers in the militia; that is, to make presents of a few titles, such as general, colonel, and the like. He appoints notaries public, the territorial treasurer,³ and, I believe, the auditor. He also functions as chief commissioner on Indian affairs. The secretary, also, has very little to do. He is the keeper of records for the legislature and is also its executive. In the absence of the governor he takes over the duties of that official. He renders an account to Congress of the disposal of all the federal appropriations, except a few for which the governor is responsible. These officers have little or nothing to do with legislation, which is handled by the legislature and its committees. There is no government personnel, except the governor's private secretary, who receives some pay from the government.

In spite of being left thus alone in the executive department, the governor and the secretary do not seem to find their work particularly burdensome. The governor spends most of his time on his farm near Mineral Point, many miles from Madison. It is said that he is a capable farmer

³ The original has *skalmesteren*, probably a misprint for *skatmesteren*.

and that he has a large number of sheep; his name is Dodge.⁴ Of course people think he is too well paid; the newly proposed constitution sets the state governor's salary at no more than \$1,000. His duties will accordingly be made even fewer, because he will no longer be bothered with the Indian affairs, which come within the sphere of the federal government, and most of the appointments to the militia will be taken away from him. The members of the legislature are those who will suffer the greatest reduction in their pay; they are to receive two dollars a day for the first forty days, thereafter only one dollar a day, and for every mile they have to travel they are to receive ten cents. The secretary of state is to receive "not more" than \$1,000. Each of the judges of the supreme court, whose number is to be increased to five, will receive \$1,500. All officials, including the judges, are to be elected by popular vote for a specified term of office, and a judge may even be deprived of his position before the expiration of his term by a two-thirds majority in both houses of the legislature.

When the territory becomes a state and adopts a constitution it will naturally have to stand on its own feet financially. Congress has, however, assured it a good source of income by promising it 500,000 acres of land, in addition to five per cent of the money received from the sale of such land as still remains the property of the federal government. The latter was appropriated by an act of Congress last fall, and since that time no one seems to worry much about the financing of the new state. All seem eager

⁴ Henry Dodge's father was a Rhode Islander who emigrated to Kentucky, where Henry was born. Later the family moved to Missouri, where young Dodge became a leader among the frontiersmen. In the middle twenties he moved to the lead mines at Fort Union, near the site of the modern Dodgeville. Here he became sheriff of the county. He distinguished himself in the Black Hawk War, particularly in the battle of the Pecatonica River; and when Wisconsin was made a territory in 1836, Dodge was appointed governor by President Jackson. Quaife, *Wisconsin*, 1: 428.

to see the day when their territorial dependency will come to an end and they may take part in the central government as a state. To be sure, Wisconsin does send a delegate to Congress even now, but he functions more as a sort of commissioner than as an actual representative; he has a seat in the House of Representatives and is allowed to participate in discussion, but not to vote. It will be an altogether different matter to send two senators and a number of representatives in proportion to the population.

This must suffice for the political institutions. I feel tempted to go into some detail as to the organization of the territory from the administrative point of view, but I fear I should never conclude, and so I shall spare you. I shall merely insert a few words on one point, namely, marriage. The civil and the ecclesiastical marriages are both recognized and are combined in a very fitting manner. If one wishes, the ceremony may be performed by a justice of the peace, or a squire, as he is often called. Or, if one prefers, the justice will authorize a clergyman to perform the ceremony; the clergyman then signs a marriage certificate, which must be taken to the justice and recorded in his journal in order that the marriage may have legal sanction. Thus one fulfills both his religious and his civil obligations. The clergyman encounters no legal difficulties if only he secures authorization from the justice, who then takes care of the legal side of it. It must be said to the credit of our Norwegian girls that they have little faith in "squire-weddings"; they do not feel that the ceremony is complete unless it is performed by a clergyman. This circumstance naturally draws many people to the church who otherwise would not join. To be sure, the clergymen do not favor the idea of admitting people to church membership merely for the sake of a wedding ceremony, but absolute strictness in this respect is out of the question, and there have been cases in

which people joined the church to get married and dropped out soon afterwards.

In closing let me add a few words about relics from antiquity. You have probably not heard of their existence before, and yet they give evidence of a prehistoric people who lived here before the Indians. They consist for the most part of mounds and walls which plainly enough have not been built by the Indians, at least not in their present state of barbarism; we are unable to trace their real origin. I have seen some of the best-known works of this type, those at Aztalan.⁵ Little has been done by way of excavating or uncovering them, but many of them, especially the walls, are made of burned clay which can be seen if the thin crust of earth which covers it is cleared away. Some of the mounds are round as in our country; others have the shapes of animals, and at Blue Mounds, between Madison and Mineral Point, there is said to be one shaped like the human body, with both hands and feet. At some places these figures are arranged in irregular lines, as though the group of animals represented were on the march. I hope to have a chance to see some examples of this kind. Near the Mississippi there is said to be one shaped like an elephant or a mammoth. If this be true, then the people who built the mounds must have lived at the same time as did the now extinct mammoths, the skeletons of which have been found in Kentucky and other places, or else they must have come from Asia and have still remembered what an elephant looked like. In the South also, in the states bordering on the Mississippi, there are traces of an earlier civilization, which, although it does not equal that seen in Mexico and the ancient territory of the Incas, nevertheless gives evidence of the existence of a much higher social order than the present Indians have ever heard of. I have heard that

⁵ Aztalan is in Jefferson County, about thirty miles east of Madison.

in Missouri people have even discovered the foundations of old stone buildings and traces of architectural ornament.

Many are of the opinion that the present Indian population originally came from China, or, at any rate, that strong Mongolian elements have been added to the original racial strain. The recent visit of a group of Chinese in New York in their famous ship, "Keying," seems to have strengthened this opinion. I, too, think there is considerable resemblance between the Indians and the Chinese, if I may judge from the few specimens I have seen of the two races. It seems to me that they both have the same prominent cheek-bones, the same color and type of hair, almost the same facial expression. Then, too, there is considerable similarity in color. I wonder if anyone has thought of making a comparison of the Chinese and the Indian languages. I rather doubt it, because Guslaff and the few other cultured people in Europe who know Chinese have too much else to do to come over here and study Indian. But if the Chinese actually did come over here, they must have been far enough advanced in their civilization to be able to build ships, and it seems strange that this people, which never forgets even if it is somewhat slow to learn, should have laid aside its former civilization so completely that it has even lost the power to regain it; and yet the Chinese upon their arrival here must have found either no inhabitants at all or at any rate so few in comparison with their own number that they were able to hand down their own physical characteristics to posterity. If they found the prehistoric civilization of the mound-builders here, then the riddle becomes even greater.

The inevitable conclusion is that the veil that separates the present-day Indian from his past is as inscrutable as the dark cloud which seems to hang over his future. Silently the Indians came to this country and silently but restlessly they roamed about the plains and valleys here hundreds or thousands of years, only to vanish as the spirits of midnight

at the rising of the sun, when the light of civilization and Christianity rose upon this continent, without leaving the least trace in history and scarcely even a sepulchral mound to bear witness to the fact that they once existed. Truly their purpose on this earth is a mystery. Very few of them have adopted civilization and the efforts of some of them in this direction have even been resisted by the Americans, for example, in the case of the Creeks in Georgia. Here in Wisconsin they have been treated better. There was actually an Indian in the last legislature. He belonged to the so-called Brothertown Indians, a tribe which migrated from New York and settled as farmers near Lake Winnebago. The proposed constitution offered "every civilized person of Indian descent who is not a member of any Indian tribe" citizenship on the same terms as white people. The tribes which remain in the territory are first and foremost the friendly Menominee, the Sioux, the Chippewa, the Winnebago, the Sauk, the Sac, and the Fox. The two last-named tribes were almost destroyed in the Black Hawk War, and after the terrible lessons they learned at that time of the superiority of the whites, the Indians seem to have given up all thoughts of resistance. As soon as the Americans express a desire for a piece of their land they at once offer to give it up at a very reasonable price, because they know that, if they refuse, some excuse will doubtless be found for taking it from them in some other way. Nearly the whole of Wisconsin has been purchased from them, and payments of money are made to them every year. Only a small part up north is still theirs. Farther south the Indians are still powerful, and in Missouri it has been found necessary to send an expedition against certain tribes in the western part of the state. The Mexicans have persuaded some to take up arms, particularly the Comanche and the Osage on the Arkansas border.⁶

⁶ The rest of the material in this chapter has been supplied from the manuscript in the possession of Dr. Ulrik Anton Ræder. See *ante*, p. vi.

Now, my dear ———, from the little digression we have been making during the last seven or eight pages, you will have to return with me to Even Heg's table in Muskego, where we left off in our account. He and Bache were very anxious for us to become acquainted with Mr. Rymert, whom they seemed to regard as a person of importance. We made a trip over to see him but could not find him; we had some suspicion that he was hiding, as a number of other Norwegians seem to have done. We went on to see the dancing-teacher, Mr. Hansen, who is getting along well. He was not at home, either, but we met one of his daughters who is married to an American lawyer, whom we also found at home.

Then we started out for the prairies, arriving there in the evening after a delightful trip through a varied countryside, covered here and there with groves of oak, walnut, hickory, ash, tamarack, cherry, and other trees. Next morning we started out for Pine Lake. After passing a number of beautiful lakes we stopped at Oconomowoc, where we were told that we had driven a few miles too far, and that we could get what further information we might want if we would see a Swede who lived near by. We found his place and a very attractive looking man came out to meet us; he appeared modest, and yet there was a certain dignity in his bearing that immediately impressed us. He told us that both Gasman and Fribert lived at Ashippun, and that Fribert's farm at Pine Lake was for the time being occupied by one or two of Gasman's sons. As we were about to take leave of the man, Løvenskjold asked him what his name was, and he seemed rather embarrassed as he answered. I cannot at the moment remember what it was, and I have not written it down; it was Torp, or something like that. Løvenskjold later maintained that he had heard of a baron by that name who had been an officer in Skaane, and had there become involved in difficulties on account of some

funds. Later on we heard that he actually was a baron and that now he made a living by working the bellows in a blacksmith shop, at twenty-five cents a day.

He urged us to visit a Norwegian living close by, named Wille, who was said to have been an officer at the bureau of geographic survey or something of the sort in Norway, and had now become a well-to-do man. We did not care to see the man, however, as we understood that he must be the cadet by that name who ran away from Christiania a few years ago and later went to New York, where he first made a living by driving a milk-wagon and selling milk. In this way (possibly also by slyly mixing the milk with water) he is said to have saved a considerable sum of money. In addition, having succeeded in making an impression on the daughter of his employer the milk-dealer, he married her. He then started a milk company of his own, which flourished and still is flourishing. Not long ago he moved out here and acquired a piece of property. His wife, it is said, dislikes the country and longs to get back to New York, where the milk company is still carrying on business in his name.

As we were not particularly interested in calling on the young Gasmans, we continued on our way to Ashippun. At one place where we stopped we saw a man's coat-tails fluttering in the wind, as he ran away as fast as he could go. He was a Swede who calls himself St. Cyr, but whose real name is Lindholm. There is said to be something rather mysterious about him, too. His wife is said to be a lady of rank, a baroness. She has much jewelry and there is a great deal of silverware in the house, but otherwise they and their many children live in extreme poverty. The man is said to have fought a long fight against fate, but now he has become weary of it all, wants to sell his property and move away, goodness knows where! The lady is said to be kind-hearted but miserable.

At Ashippun we went to the home of Ole Jæger from Fossum. Here there was much rejoicing at the sight of "Chamberlain Adam."⁷ It was touching to see how happy the old man became, and his wife seemed equally glad to see us. Løvenskjold found his own portrait hanging on the wall; he had had a picture lithographed some years ago, and here it was. A woman by the name of Maren or Karen was immediately summoned. She had worked at Fossum some time, so now there was fresh rejoicing and kissing of hands, and fresh tears. This woman has a good, capable, well-to-do husband, whom we had already met some distance before we reached the place, as he was on his way to see the bishop, who lives not far away. He apparently changed his mind and decided he had better hurry home again, since such visitors were expected, and he presently appeared, all dressed up in his Sunday clothes. Ole, also, put on his old hunter's frock.

Ole and his wife are having little success, because they are too old and sickly to make much headway out there in the woods. To be sure, they have a son, who was rather debauched in Norway, but who is now on his feet again and has learned how to work hard; but that is not enough, especially as he has been seriously ill for a long time. They have no oxen and, in order to hire some for a day, at a cost of two or three dollars, it is necessary for him to go out and himself work at least as long a time for others first. It is a cumbrous way of doing things. They have not yet, at least had not up to this fall, progressed so far as to be able to provide themselves with their daily bread, and yet I believe they have been there four years. They have, however, put up a very presentable log cabin, where everything is clean and orderly.

We spent the night with them and also took dinner there, after spending the forenoon calling on people in the vicinity.

⁷ Adam Løvenskjold. See *ante*, p. xv.

We were then informed that Gasman and Fribert had dropped in and invited us to spend the night with them, an invitation which, so far as the former was concerned, coincided with our plans for the afternoon. There was also an invitation from Lindholm to visit "the Swedish settlement," but this, under the circumstances, we found impossible to do. After we had eaten our steak dinner, consisting in part of prairie chickens, the victims of Løvenskjold's skill as a hunter (he had taken his rifle along), as well as *fløtegrøt*,⁸ we went to make our visit, and, of course, received a hearty welcome. Gasman looked rather sad, I thought, and probably not without reason; he is said to be a ruined man, deeply in debt, and unable to extricate himself. I believe that he has divided his property among his sons, with the understanding that he is to operate that part of the farm which falls to the lot of his youngest son, and that in addition he is to receive all or part of the profits of the sawmill, which, however, was not in operation at the time. I had imagined Fribert to be a well-meaning but weak man, but I found, on the contrary, that he had a face like a bull-dog and seemed to be a very determined sort of fellow. He has turned Republican, and apparently takes his politics as a matter of life and death. Both of them appeared to be angry at Dietrichson, but they seemed to get along with each other very peaceably. We just barely saw Mrs. Fribert; she was expecting her confinement at any time. I had imagined that there would be something elegant about her, but I thought she was rather plain than otherwise. The house was tolerably good, but I had no difficulty in getting a glimpse of the stars right through the walls.

We were urged to stay overnight, but we had already promised to return to Ole's house, so that we might start out early the next morning without any inconvenience. On our return it was pitch dark, and there really was not enough

⁸ *Fløtegrøt* is a rich porridge made of cream and flour.

of a road to be worthy of the name. We can thank our lucky stars for the fact that we somehow or other escaped being tipped over by some of the many tree stumps, and when we approached the house, we were met by a man with a lantern. On Wednesday, then, we started out again, after a touching farewell, in which I was also included, for the sake of my nationality, and at noon we stopped at Aztalan, where we saw the ancient walls, of which I have already spoken. Thence we took the night express to Fort Atkinson, so named because it served as a sort of fort in the last Indian war. Thursday just before noon we arrived at the Koshkonong parsonage, but, to our disappointment, neither the pastor nor his wife was at home. We were told that they had left for Rock Prairie to visit Clausen. The door was nailed shut, and there was only a silly Halling girl about the place. Now we were at a loss as to what to do, until we finally found a cheerful little fellow, the merchant from Drammen whom I have mentioned before, and he escorted us to Lars Hedemarken, who said that we were welcome to stay overnight at his house.

We drove about for a while, then, and called on a number of people, and on our return managed to stick fast in a slough. First we all had to climb out of the wagon and loosen the horses; and then finally, through the joint efforts of four of us men, we managed to pull the wagon out of the hole. A little later we had to cross a bridge built of boards, slabs, and round sticks, which, however, were so badly out of place that there were huge gaps between, especially at one end of the bridge. Again we all had to set to work, and we finally got the bridge in such condition that the driver thought he could "risk it." It went well, and at last we returned to Lars's house, where, after eating the good supper prepared for us, we soon retired for the night. It had been arranged beforehand that I should share a room with Løvenskjold and his wife, but we were not prepared to have

the driver with us also. But such was the intention, apparently, and he was to share a bed with me. We first learned of this arrangement when he came marching into the room and sat down by my bed, where he remained motionless, evidently rather ill at ease, and waiting for further orders. Although our relations with him had been most friendly, and he had, in true American fashion, eaten with us all the way, Mrs. Løvenskjold rebelled at having him sleep in the same room with us. Lars was informed of the difficulty, and the man was at once taken elsewhere. This little episode reminds one of how Dickens, or possibly Marryat, relates that one night as he was about to retire he found his bed already occupied by a "gentleman" who proved to be his coachman. Unfortunately our experience of this sort took place not among Americans but among Norwegians.

The next day we proceeded to Janesville, escorted a little distance on our journey by our friend from Drammen, who would receive no compensation for his trouble, any more than would Lars. Ole, on the other hand, who had been accustomed to receiving little gifts from his masters back in Norway, received our money with thanks. Janesville was the parting of the ways for us, as the Løvenskjolds were to go to visit Clausen and then return home by way of Milwaukee, whereas I was to take the coach to Madison the next morning. After being in their company such a long time, it was almost painful to part with them. They are both good-natured, pleasant people to be with. Mrs. Løvenskjold told me later that she was almost offended at me as we parted, because I had simply gone back to the house and had not even turned around to look at them once. I ascribed it to the fact that I was really very deeply moved.

You naturally ask: "When have you spoken with her since you parted?" Well, our parting was not to be for any great length of time. The very next day, as my coach was changing horses at a hotel, a stranger appeared at the win-

dow of the coach and asked if there was any Norwegian there. I answered that there was, and the stranger then told me that he was Pastor Dietrichson, and that he had just returned home the day before. When he heard of our visit he canceled his sermon for the Sunday, and started out together with his wife, in order to pick up first me and later the Løvenskjolds. The man from Drammen had told him where we were going. I had to leave the coach and go with him into the hotel, where I met his wife. After a few minutes' conversation I left them and continued my journey to Madison, having promised to visit them on the following Sunday.

The next Thursday I received a visit from another stranger, who proved to be Pastor Clausen. He told me that he had taken the Løvenskjolds to Madison in his wagon and had taken them to another hotel, where he had expected to find me staying. I went with him to this other hotel and a happy reunion took place. It was agreed that we should all start out for Dietrichson's the next day. The facts of the matter were that Dietrichson had induced them to make this change in their plans, much to the horror and dismay of his wife, who even went so far as to threaten to wash her hands of the whole affair, and let him take care of his guests as best he could. To this he replied very calmly, "Go ahead, I'll get along all right without you." That made her change her mind and she decided to see the affair through—and she did so very creditably. Sunday we went to church and the Løvenskjolds took communion. Monday they left for good, and Clausen with them, but I was induced to stay until Wednesday, when Dietrichson and his wife were making a trip to Madison, and I could then ride with them. I spent the time in various ways—for example in reading aloud for Mrs. Dietrichson and in picking up gossip for my poor ——. ⁹

⁹ The remainder of the original letter has been lost.

XIII

A CIRCUIT-TOUR WITH A FEDERAL JUDGE

JANESVILLE, October 4, 1847

I believe I told you in my last letter that I planned to go with Judge Irvin on a circuit-tour, and now I have done so. First I spent a week at Jefferson, then two weeks at Elkhorn, and we arrived here in Rock County day before yesterday. You may well believe, there is a stir in a little town like Janesville when the court and its followers come to town. These little county seats are still as a rule so small that the houses are packed when the thirty-six petit jurors, sixteen grand jurors, a score or two of lawyers, and a whole company of witnesses take possession. The one or two hotels in the town are so full of people that there is no great comfort in staying there. They have the annoying practice here as also, to some extent, in the East, of making the single rooms so small that it is almost literally impossible to turn around in them. I have had great difficulty in finding space for my trunk in my room here, and I have to push it to one side in order to get over to the wash-stand. Such an article of luxury as a table is, of course, quite out of the question. One has to spend his time in the parlor, which also serves as a bar-room and is generally packed with people. But here there is a desk, one side of which is used by the host and the other by the agent for the stagecoach company. I have made friends with the latter, and he lets me stand here a while and write, interrupted now and then by people who take me to be the agent. If one dislikes the small single rooms he may stay in one of the larger rooms, but here he must keep company with a crowd of Yankees.

I wanted to try this at Jefferson, but only on condition that I might have one bed all to myself. As this proved to be impossible I had to be content with taking a small cell, which had the additional disadvantage that the window could not be opened more than a few inches.

This Mr. Irvin is a Locofoco and a negro-hater, but we get along very amicably nevertheless. He is a Virginian of the old school,—that of the time when Virginia ranked very high on this continent in intellectual achievement and when about fifty of her sons were members of Congress as representatives from all parts of the country. Mr. Irvin came out here fifteen years ago when there were only a few settlements at Green Bay and in the mining district, dating mostly from the time of French occupation. The interior was Indian country, and on his circuit-tours he generally had to sleep out in the open after his rifle had supplied him with food. Court was held in little log cabins in those days, and they were always packed, of course. Once he decided to hold court under a large tree, like an Indian council, but a heavy rainstorm prevented him from carrying out this romantic plan. On one occasion the sheriff was greatly puzzled as to what to do; the law reads that the grand jury is to deliberate behind closed doors, but in the hut where the sessions were being held there was only one room. The result was that the court had to go outside and explore the country. The hut was on the banks of the Mississippi and there was a cave near by, hollowed out by the water which had later receded; here the grand jury was assembled.

One might think that the judge would take great interest in the rapid changes that have been taking place in his district, right before his very eyes, so to speak, so that he could see great changes every time he went out on his trips. But he takes it all very coolly; he tells how the country has little by little assumed its present appearance and has been dotted here and there with pleasant little villages, while large

courthouses with domes and columns testify to the great truth that a country must be built under the law.¹ I asked him once if it did not give him a certain thrill to view all this development, in which he himself had played such a considerable part. He answered that he had long since ceased to sentimentalize. To him these flourishing farms merely speak of greater possibilities for cases of trespassing; the woods are more likely to be molested now than before; and there are more and more horse thieves. On his first trips two lawyers went with him and took all the cases they found in the various localities. Now as many as two hundred lawyers are kept busy in the territory, at least half of them within his district; there are three such districts in all. There are more lawyers every year. In the two counties where I have been, I have seen at least a dozen of them take oath; most of them were from Ohio and some from New York. The rule is that if they have been admitted to the bar elsewhere, they need merely a recommendation from one of the attorneys here; if not, they have to be quizzed by a committee appointed by the court. There is no legal restriction as to their number.

The country does, however, have one other attraction for Mr. Irvin in addition to the increasing number of cases: he is an ardent hunter. As such, of course, he is not altogether pleased with the increasing cultivation of the soil, although he asserts that, in the place of the former kinds of game, which, like the Indians, flee from civilization, there are other kinds which prefer to be near the wheat and corn fields. The fact that all these years he has had to carry a bulky double-barreled gun with him, often on horseback, has directed his attention to the desirability of making this weapon as light as possible without impairing its usefulness, and he now claims that he has invented a rifle which to a re-

¹ *Med lov skal man land bygge.*

markable degree meets these requirements. A superfine sample of this new type of rifle is now being made by a gunsmith at Elkhorn, where I have seen it. The work is so beautifully done and at the same time everything is so strongly built that his invention—if such it be—at any rate will make its first appearance in a very presentable form. The barrel is scarcely half as long as that of an ordinary rifle and the diameter of the cylinder is so slight that the bullets used will be scarcely larger than hail-shot. The principle involved is that the spark is applied to the powder in front instead of behind. When the powder is ignited from behind, only a small part of the powder has time to explode before the gas produced sets the bullet or the hail-shot in motion; the rest of the powder explodes farther ahead in the barrel, in which case it reacts both ways, or it explodes after leaving the barrel, or some of it even drops to the ground without being ignited at all; only a very small part of it, accordingly, is really doing any good. If the powder is ignited from in front, on the other hand, none can escape, and although not all of it explodes at exactly the same time, nevertheless nothing is wasted; either it sets the bullet in motion or it gives it extra impetus. He claims that the difference in efficiency between the two types of rifle is very great. He has also tried to ignite the powder from the center but this does not work so well as from the front. I do not know just how much his invention amounts to, of course, although I have heard a few things about the many new kinds of rifle which are being discussed so much nowadays; the only thing I can say is that—so far as an average layman could understand the matter—I have never seen or heard of any rifle constructed on just these principles, or at any rate so obviously that the average layman can understand it. There is no doubt about the fact that Mr. Irvin has great experience and knowledge along this line. He thinks he is cut out for war rather than for the bench. If he had not had his position as

judge, he would have entered the Mexican War and he would undoubtedly have distinguished himself, like many others who, with no previous experience, have been placed at the head of regiments of raw recruits and have immediately proceeded to cut to pieces Mexican forces four times their number.

Perhaps he may yet have his warlike desires satisfied, for the United States seems destined to swallow Mexico. Possibly it could even now adopt the whole cluster of Mexican states,—and the federal government seems to be more and more inclined in that direction. But as this could be accomplished only by adopting them into the Union on the same basis as the states that already are there, people in general hesitate. The whole problem is closely connected with the question of whether or not slavery shall be prohibited in such new territory as may be added to the Union. If no such prohibition is put into force, the slave states feel confident that the influence of American settlers in the new territory will lead to the introduction of slavery, as was the case in Texas. But if Mexico should be added, its population is so large that American settlers would hardly exert an influence sufficiently strong to lead to the introduction of slavery, even if there were no Congressional prohibition in that regard. The American army has been particularly successful in its campaign and has captured more territory than had been expected. But this very fact would prevent the realization of that purpose which first led the South to demand this war.

Generally speaking the most satisfactory arrangement would probably be to add the whole of Mexico to the Union at once, as this would prevent future wars and would ultimately lead to the abolition of slavery, if the Union could hold together after introducing such an incongruous element. This seems scarcely possible, however. To be sure, we must bear in mind that ever since the formation of the

Union it has consisted of two groups as unlike as can possibly be imagined, namely, the North and the South, and that, in spite of many violent conflicts, peace has nevertheless been maintained and the Union has remained unbroken; indeed, the bond of Union is much firmer now than it was at the beginning, and this promises well for the future. A Union which is so elastic and yet so firm would probably hold together even if a third party were added. Perhaps it might even become stronger because there would then be a mediator or, at any rate, a majority to decide between the two conflicting interests. Where there are only two groups of states, or two states, involved, it is very difficult to settle disputes, because they are matched as one against one. But the trouble in this case is that there is not merely a new interest to be admitted but a new and strange element in the population, a strange language, strange laws, strange customs, an entirely different background—in fact, everything is strange and, what is worse, hostile besides. To be sure, the American republic has already proved itself capable of absorbing Spanish, French, and German elements very extensively; I do not mention the Norwegians because they have not yet been amalgamated. But nine million all at once and the most corrupt and stiff-necked people the world has ever seen—that might prove too much even for Uncle Sam's powerful digestion, all at one time, at any rate. He will probably prefer to take them little by little. At some future time he will doubtless obtain, by fair means or foul, that which he does not care to take now.

It can almost be said, however, that a third interest has sprung up within the Union already which in some respects can maintain the balance, namely, the West, the huge Mississippi Valley. But its interests are not yet sufficiently distinct from those of the eastern states; the northern part of the Mississippi Valley has undeniably much more in common with New York and New England than with Louisiana

and Mississippi, while these states, at the same time, are linked with the Carolinas and Georgia on the most important matters, and particularly on the all-important slavery question. Some day these bonds will probably relax and the Mississippi Valley will exert a strong influence on the whole, based on the principles which are distinctively its own, as the very heart and center of the nation, perhaps even as the seat of government. But no matter how fast everything moves in America such a development will take time. And then it will probably not be the only mediator between the North and the South because a new section will demand admittance, namely, the Far West. Oregon is already growing rapidly and is having political conflicts of its own, although of a different nature from those found in the older states and territories. And although California has not yet been ceded to the United States there has already been a quite considerable immigration of Americans. The great interests and the groups of states will surely grow in number just as well as the states themselves.

Everything here bears evidence of life and progress; no narrow, selfish consideration can stem the tide. It has been estimated that if the population continues to increase as it has,—and there is every reason to suppose that it will,—in a few years it will amount to thirty million and in 1900 it will be one hundred thirty-five million; that does not take Mexico into account. Europe may view this growth calmly enough because a republic such as America can never conquer territory on the other side of the Atlantic, and it would not if it could, because it would not know what to do with it; this is clearly seen from its present predicament as to Mexico. Of course it will become a great naval power, but Europe is already accustomed to having a master on the sea. And for all save England it would merely be a question as to which master would be the better. Besides, its location at the very center of the commercial world, midway between

Europe and the Orient, will give it such a great advantage over Europe that it will not need to use might and insults against other nations in order to reap the benefit of a world trade; furthermore, the sentiment here as well as in Europe is opposed to restrictions on trade, and this will probably be the case in the future, also. America's power on the seas will be useful to Europe as long as it balances England's, because it will protect the European nations against the injustice that they have so often experienced at England's hands. And when America finally gains the upper hand, one of the results will probably be that the European states, through dread of the consequences, will be led to follow America's example and establish a Union of their own.

XIV

ON A MISSISSIPPI STEAMBOAT

THE "RED WING," October 29, 1847

I am writing this at a particularly interesting spot called Le Claire,¹ a mile above the upper rapids of the Mississippi on board the steamship "Red Wing." I left Galena the day before yesterday and arrived here yesterday noon. By the time the boat had been loaded it was getting so late in the day that the captain did not dare to start on the voyage down the rapids, which have a length of no less than eighteen miles; a violent storm was just setting in, too. We simply had to be patient and wait, and that is not an un-mixed pleasure on board one of these upper Mississippi steamers. Such a contrivance has little in common with the splendid steam-palaces on the Lakes except the general shape. First class passengers occupy the cabins on top of the deck, where there is plenty of fresh air, and the balcony enables one to take a little exercise without getting dirty. But if one ventures down on the deck he finds the most terrible filth, mud, stagnant water, and a most offensive odor everywhere, quite worthy of Mrs. Trollope's description.²

¹ The original has "Leileroq" and, a few pages later, "Leclerq," denoting the same place, probably Le Claire, Iowa, situated on the Mississippi some ten miles above Davenport.

² Frances M. Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London, 1832). Mrs. Trollope sailed from London on November 4, 1827, and arrived at New Orleans on December 25. She went by steamship up the Mississippi and the Ohio. She spent two years in Cincinnati and then visited the East and returned to England by way of New York. Captain Frederick Marryat, in his *Diary in America with Remarks on its Institutions*, 2: 150 (London, 1839), says that Mrs. Trollope opened a bazaar at Cincinnati and erected, for that purpose, a building of rather peculiar architecture. Her venture proved to be a financial failure and

The same may be said of the wash-room, which all the men use in common; there is a huge towel which is suspended over a wooden roller. One must lay aside all instinct of cleanliness when one enters this place, which really ought to minister to the cause of cleanliness. If I remember rightly, Mrs. Trollope says she prefers a stay in a well-kept pig-pen to a stay on a Mississippi steamer. She is not speaking of the deck but of the best cabin, a ladies' cabin, and not of the upper but the lower part of the Mississippi. It must be remembered, however, that she wrote her book almost twenty years ago and that much progress must have been made since then in steamship traffic, particularly in the art of making a voyage agreeable for the passengers. Furthermore her account throughout bears evidence of the mental shock she suffered as a result of the accident she had at Cincinnati.³ The actual conditions were undoubtedly so bad that her English sensitiveness led her to give such a description, and her account is at any rate subjectively true.

The walls, the ceiling, the beds, all are uniformly painted white. Even in the ladies' salon there are none of the chandeliers, the lamp globes, the gilded scrolls and arabesques, the pianos, the sofas, and the couches which made the Lakes steamships so pleasant. A few red tables and yellow chairs, that is the total—except that in the ladies' salon there are

people spoke of her bazaar as "Trollope's folly." Hamilton speaks of it in *Men and Manners in America*, 2: 169-172. At the time he visited Cincinnati, the first floor of the building was occasionally used for large gatherings and festivities, while the second floor was divided into apartments for balls and suppers.

The description of a Mississippi steamer here referred to is found on page 34 of the New York reprint: "Let no one who wishes to receive agreeable impressions of American manners, commence their travels in a Mississippi steamboat; for myself, it is with all sincerity I declare, that I would infinitely prefer sharing the apartment of a party of well conditioned pigs to being confined to its cabin. . . . I hardly know any annoyance so deeply repugnant to English feelings as the incessant, remorseless spitting of Americans."

³ Mrs. Trollope makes no mention of any such accident in her book.

some of those rocking-chairs which seem to be a sort of *sine qua non* of feminine existence everywhere in America. The only sign of luxury in the men's parlor is that the tables and parts of the floor are left uncovered so that the men can indulge to their heart's content in their favorite pastime of "unrelenting, merciless spitting," of which Mrs. Trollope speaks with such evident disgust. Their operations generally center about the two stoves, where they sit as silent as statues, each one chewing his tobacco. A further convenience for this occupation of theirs is found in a hole in the floor which is so large that a lady could easily get her foot caught in it; to prevent such a calamity, the carpet has been cut away around the hole so that everyone can see and avoid it. From what has been said you will doubtless infer that the "Red Wing" must be the very model of simplicity. Such, indeed, would be the case did it not persistently pretend to be far more than a mere trading-vessel in a half-civilized country. In spite of its age and its wretched condition, it continually boasts in the papers of its youth and beauty; and, like an old coquette of the very poorest taste, it has made a freakish attempt at ornament; a whole mess of wreaths and other decorations of colored paper have been hung from the ceiling of the cabin and whenever anyone opens one of the doors so that there is a draft, there is a buzzing sound as if hundreds of women were whispering to their neighbors the important news that Mr. A. has entered the room or Mr. B. has gone out.

Now that I have started talking about ladies, as a logical sequence to what I have just said about the other ornaments on the ship I must add a word or two about the ladies here on the "Red Wing." There are only two; one is very good-looking; the other, far from it. At meals the women sit next to the head of the table, one on each side of the captain, who attends to their wants without saying a word; a few chairs next to them are generally left unoccupied as a sort of

barrier beyond which the gentlemen feel somewhat more secure and at ease than in the immediate vicinity of such dangerous creatures. Once in a while it does happen, however, that someone is bold and reckless enough to take one of these seats,—either because the rest are taken, or because he feels attracted by that which so alarms the rest, or because he is tempted by the sight of the good food that generally seems to accumulate at that end of the table. The latter motive it was that caused me to take a seat next to the most dangerous of the women. I imagined that I should, at any rate, get milk in my tea, a privilege quite impossible at the other end of the table either on account of a quite un-American stinginess or from pure negligence. But alas! the second morning I was told that the milk was “all gone,” and so it continued to be, although we often stopped to load or unload—indeed, we have spent more time stopping than on the move since we left Galena. I deplore this circumstance less for my own sake than for my neighbor's, and yet she certainly appears to be better able to console herself by enjoying what is there than I am. I have never before seen a woman blessed with such an appetite! She is one of the first at the table and also one of the last, and when she finally does decide to leave she takes along some provisions—tea, bread and butter, ham, or fish—so that she may not starve before the next meal.

When I said that my room was in the second story, I referred only to one section of the boat; the two sections ahead are built on posts and the whole structure has much the appearance of a dovecot. On the deck below us is the engine with its huge wheel that is connected with the paddles; here, also, the stokers are kept busy. The furnace and the smokestack are at the very front; thus when you see such a ship from a distance it looks like an insect with a huge antenna and fiery eyes.

Another such monster just passed us, the “Monotank”;

it has no less than three stories. All the Mississippi steamers resemble one another in some respects. The hulls are broad and flat with the decks projecting over them on both sides. The machinery is constructed for navigation in shallow water. The upper stories always look like bird-houses, and because of their elevation they are quite clean. Most of the boats are as simply arranged as the one I am on.

From the way I have been writing you will infer that I feel as though I had plenty of time and am in no hurry about anything. Such is, indeed, the case; I am tired of lying around waiting for something to happen. There is still some wind, and this captain of ours does not want to budge until it has settled. He is undoubtedly right in taking such precautions as long as he is bound and determined to haul along the two huge flatboats loaded with lead and wheat which we have had with us so far; one of them is actually square. The steamship itself has a considerable cargo of lead, and so we surely have a solid enough ballast. The passengers are also of a rather solid type, but not the most interesting, to my notion at least. I almost regret that I did not remain in Madison a few more days in order to travel together with a talented lawyer from New York. To induce me to stay longer, my friends impressed upon me the fact that he belonged to one of the best families in the country; his grandfather was such and such, and so on. Such considerations are not without influence even in this land of equality, and bring further evidence of the truth of the old saying, "You may drive away nature with a pitchfork, but the witch will come back!"⁴ I tried to refute such arguments as well as I could by leaving. Now my friend the lawyer will possibly catch up with me here and have a good laugh at my expense; in any event we shall meet in St. Louis.

⁴ The quotation is from Horace: "Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret," amusingly paraphrased in the Norwegian: *Naturam pellas furca ex: den kommer dog igjen den Hex!*

The wind seems to be turning into a genuine storm. Indeed, it would be an interesting experience to be in a hurricane on the Mississippi, and yet I wish we were below the rapids and, preferably, still farther down the river, beyond its junction with the Missouri. Up here, although it is a good-sized river, it is not yet the majestic "Father of Waters," as American authors and orators always call the river when they wax eloquent; such is said to be the meaning of the Indian name, "Mississippi." Here it more resembles one of the larger rivers in Europe—the Rhine, the Danube, or even the river Glommen in stretches. Farther down in its course it becomes such a giant that it is surpassed only by the Amazon; during a storm its waves are as large as those on the ocean. The name "Mississippi" ought rather to have been given to the Missouri, which has the greater volume of water and is navigable eight hundred miles above its junction with the Mississippi. It has in its whole course the same violent character that distinguishes the lower part of the Mississippi.

The upper Mississippi is ordinarily calm and clear and the current is slight; it does not wash away large trees and send them whirling down the stream. Navigation is not dangerous, therefore, except when the water is low, as is the case now, when care must be taken to avoid shallow spots. The upper rapids near by are navigable at all times of the year, although great care must be taken when the water is low. The lower rapids, about 160 miles below, which are 12 miles long, are not navigable in the fall. During that season, then, they form a dividing line between navigation on the upper and that on the lower Mississippi; each part has its own steamships. When this barrier is reached, it is, of course, necessary to land and to travel by wagon to the point where navigation is resumed. Above the rapids there is less competition; and, as a result, the prices are higher and the service poorer than below, where a large

number of steamers ply the waters of the lower Mississippi as well as of its larger tributaries—the Missouri, the Ohio, the Arkansas, the Red River and others. I have heard that there are as many as twelve hundred steamships on the Mississippi; our captain says there are between seven hundred and eight hundred. Up the river from St. Louis there are said to be fifteen below the rapids and eleven above. In addition to competition among themselves, they are influenced by what all the others do—for example, in dropping the price so low that the profits almost disappear. Thus the steamships as a rule make as much as they can while they may and, when forced to do so, they cut their price down to almost nothing. For example, if there is only one steamship on the spot, the price is generally quite high, but if one or two others appear, the price is at once lowered. During the winter, when the upper Mississippi, the Missouri, and parts of the Ohio are frozen over, some of the ships are laid up for the winter and others join the fleet on the lower Mississippi or navigate some of its smaller tributaries which have not enough water in the summer to be navigable.

XV

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

I have been spending my time looking at sky, water, and land—over, under, and about me; I have explored the little country towns where we have landed, and I have made excursions up into the country. But I must say that the particular fascination that the Mississippi has for people across the Atlantic or even in the American states disappears when one has spent a couple of days on the river, half of the time lounging around the squalid little houses which bear the name of *Le Claire*. So far there has not been anything particularly interesting about the scenery; the river is bordered by low, wooded hills, making a skyline of almost the same height throughout. Sometimes it varies a trifle, but one rarely finds a picturesque elevation or a lovely little valley. The only variety is in the settlements here and there along the river, where the woods have been cleared away. For the most part, however, the traces of man's industry and genius are few; and at best they are rather crude and primitive as yet. It will be a long time before the dreary monotony of the woods will be enlivened by the appearance of neat little towns and smiling landscapes with cheerful farmhouses, as is the case on the Hudson River and other places in the East. That must not be taken to mean that the country itself is ugly or unsuitable for habitation; on the contrary, as soon as one has penetrated the belt of woods that borders the river on either side, he finds the country both beautiful and rich. At any rate such was my impression on an excursion some distance into Iowa the other day. A farmer told me, furthermore, that there was still plenty of land at the government price.

To be sure, the small, scattered settlements are likely to give the impression of loneliness and isolation from the rest of the world, but in reality there is little reason for complaint in this respect. A person who has his native land, his family, and all that is near and dear to him on another continent, is bound to feel lonesome and depressed even in the largest cities. This will not be the case with people who are able to concentrate their attention upon their new home and the people about them, when they live at places which have almost daily connection with the rest of the Union, situated as they are directly between St. Louis, the flourishing metropolis of the West, and the enterprising Galena, with ready access to both and to the rest of the world by means of a splendid, navigable river. If this is not enough to make the inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley content with their lot, they will have to use their imagination a little as to the future, when this region will become, as seems probable from its location, the center of America's trade as well as of its political life. Already there is heard complaint that Washington no longer is the right location for the nation's capital, and some day there will be a large number who will urge that St. Louis take the place of "the city of magnificent distances." One objection to this will be found in the American preference for small towns as capitals. But this preference hitherto has not been unmixed with other considerations. Although in several states the seat of government has been taken away from a flourishing city and placed out in the wilderness where there were no buildings before—as was recently done in Michigan and some years ago, I understand, in Wisconsin—nevertheless an important principle in such cases has been the desire to have the capital as close to the center of the state as possible; this counts against Washington and will do so more and more in the future. And even if a small town proves to be preferable, or Missouri should refuse to give up St. Louis, the site of the na-

tion's capital will very likely be somewhere in that vicinity, and the Mississippi Valley will reap the benefit.

I have already referred to the interest that is everywhere being aroused by the settling of Oregon and California. It seems as though the great future that lies in store for America impels people, by some power of Providence and almost as if by instinct, to go on with enterprises which, for the individuals concerned, seem scarcely advantageous or desirable. Everywhere—and particularly in Missouri, the starting-point for immigrant groups to the Far West—one hears admonitions against such expeditions, coupled with assertions that the journey is particularly strenuous; last winter a number of people, including the large Donner family from Illinois, perished from hunger and cold on the way to California; some of them sustained life for some time by eating human flesh, and it is said that one of them took such a fancy to this diet that when he was finally picked up, the sole survivor of his group, almost insane, and was brought to one of the settlements, it was a considerable time before he would eat any food.¹ Furthermore, the cost of necessities

¹ In the spring of 1846 a party of nearly a hundred persons, organized chiefly in Sangamon County, Illinois, by George and Jacob Donner and James F. Reed, left Missouri on the trail to California. On the road they were joined by smaller detachments, bringing the number up to nearly two hundred. At Fort Bridger they divided into two groups, the larger group going by way of Fort Hall and reaching California in safety. The smaller group of eighty-seven, under George Donner, attempting the newly discovered Hastings' cut-off along the south side of Great Salt Lake, were obliged to spend the winter in the Sierra Mountains. After a time the only food left was soup or jelly made from ox hides, and bones burned and ground to powder. As more and more members of the party died of starvation or froze to death, their flesh was used as food. A party of fifteen set out on foot to find Sutter's Fort, and seven of them reached their destination after a horrible trip of thirty-two days. Two relief expeditions were sent out to those remaining at the camp, each party returning with some of the survivors. A third expedition found only one man alive at the camp. Of the seventy-nine persons who began the winter in the Sierras only forty-five survived. Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period*, 122-127 (New York, 1922).

is said to be very high and life strenuous; the situation is probably much like that here in Wisconsin a few years ago when most supplies had to be brought from Detroit, Buffalo, and other cities in the East; and when the country had not yet developed its resources sufficiently to provide for the large number of immigrants. It is only a few years since the tide turned and now the exports from Wisconsin are rapidly increasing.

It is asserted that the majority of the settlers in the Far West would like to return to the East but have not the means to do it. And yet, although it is possible to buy land in this vicinity for next to nothing, or even to get land free, as in Arkansas, nevertheless throngs of people are constantly leaving for the West. If one asks them why they are going, they simply answer, "Oregon is a good country and must be settled by someone; we might as well do it as anyone else." Strangely enough, Oregon has not yet been annexed to the United States as a territory. Since the question of sovereignty was settled with England recently, a few attempts have been made in this direction, but they have failed. The citizens have temporarily set up a government of their own and have elected their own governor. The people will soon number 60,000, and then they will presumably demand admittance as a state. Under such circumstances it is not strange that the plan for a railroad from Lake Michigan across Wisconsin and west through a pass in the Rocky Mountains to Oregon is attracting more and more attention. A French author has said that that which appears to be the wildest dream of the visionary in one period becomes mere commonplace in another. But that which requires generations elsewhere takes only a decade or so here. A year ago people laughed at the idea of building a railroad to Oregon but this year it already occupies a quite respectable place among the topics of the day. There

seems to be a considerable group in favor of the plan, although it is as yet only a minority.

THE "RED WING," October 30,
and the days following.

We are still idly waiting at the same spot and we are not likely to move today, either. To make matters worse, there is a pouring rain and excursions into the country are out of the question. One simply has to sit and be patient, a thing which is all the more proper as this is a Sunday. The rain at any rate increases the volume of water and seems to be quieting the storm. The delay, it must be admitted, is far more distasteful to the captain than to us. While we are idling here, not so unpleasantly, after all, he has to supply us with food day after day and in addition pay his men and meet other expenses with no profits to himself or the ship-owners. I think I shall retract what I wrote yesterday about the fares being rather high up here above the rapids. Six dollars is really not too much to charge when one has to incur the risk of a prolonged voyage of a week or more, and I am inclined to believe what the captain says about occasionally losing money on his trips. The worst of it all, as far as we are concerned, is that the steward says that his provisions will not hold out much longer, which means, in other words, that he is thinking of cutting down on our rations. We shall have to forgive him—at least until he actually begins to carry out his threat. So far nothing has been done in this direction, and even my neighbor is getting all she wants to eat; lately we have actually had milk again for our coffee and tea. Just below us here is the steamship "Kentucky," which has been waiting here ever since Tuesday; the famine on board that ship must surely be far more serious than on our comparatively fortunate "Red Wing."

Last night I climbed a hill near by to see if I could get a

good view of a prairie fire which illumined the horizon to the west, while at the same time a forest fire was in progress to the south of us. I was disappointed in my hopes, though the light in the sky became stronger and more inviting. I followed it from hill to hill, always misled by the belief that if only I climbed the next hill, I should surely be rewarded by seeing the whole splendid panorama spread out before me. I suppose that I walked two or three miles before I obtained a somewhat satisfactory view of the glowing mass of smoke which spread over the prairies far and wide. I could not see the flames themselves. Such flames roll along the prairie very close to the ground, and a man whom I met told me that they travel "as fast as a horse" when there is as much wind as there was then. The fire was some seven miles away. My companion said he lived near the place where the fire was started; this was done, he said, in order to protect some fences, hay, and other property against prairie fire. The best protection against prairie fire is to start one oneself, especially when there is no wind or if the wind carries the fire away from one's property; anything that can be destroyed by the fire must, of course, be taken out of the way. If a prairie fire comes roaring down upon one from the distance, a back fire is generally the best expedient. Even if the wind is as unfavorable as possible, it is not difficult to protect oneself against a little fire that one has just started, and in the meantime the area between the two fires is safe. It seldom happens that a prairie fire does much damage. Nevertheless, the big forest and prairie fire in Canada a few years ago gave a terrible example of what such a fire can do. In Illinois and in Wisconsin, probably also in Iowa, there are laws against starting such a fire if it endangers one's neighbor's property.

The sight of such a fire is indeed majestic—and it was particularly so on this occasion when it was supplemented by that of a large forest fire among the hills to the south-

east. Countless flames appeared in that direction, now flaring up vividly as some huge tree caught fire and shot up sparks against the dark background, now dying down like a falling star in the dark cloud of smoke which the wind whirled away across the Mississippi and far over hill and dale, past me and my companion, and then into the distance, as though seeking some destination, as I had done recently in pursuing the glow of the prairie fire. At any rate, it was heading towards "parts unknown," and the imagination was thus given free play. You will get some idea of the thoughts inspired by my lonely walk if you try to imagine this pillar of smoke reaching an Indian council. One of the chiefs, seized with the same thought that came to me, points towards the flaming hills over by the Mississippi and the advancing pillars of smoke, asking his warriors whether they choose to regard it as smoke from the huge peace pipe of their great father in Washington or as war signals and spirits of revenge from the land of their fathers which they had to leave in disgrace to give place to the "pale faces." This expression, by the way, I use only out of respect for Cooper's novels; it is claimed that no Indian has ever called the whites by such a name, and it is merely a phrase that has won a place in American literature. You will undoubtedly understand how easy it is, on such a walk, on a dark, stormy night through a strange and sparsely settled stretch of woods and prairie, to slip into some rather grotesque meditations, especially when one actually knows that a large number of nomad tribes not so far to the southwest are on the warpath. I believe I may even be excused for having speculated a trifle on the possibility of meeting some stray Indian that night, fully equipped with tomahawk and other paraphernalia, and of course on the watch for someone to scalp.

I was well pleased, therefore, to find a companion on my walk, a plain farmer on his way to the country town, pre-

sumably to get a jug of whisky and to discuss politics and religion with his fellow-citizens. He told me on the way that he adhered to Whig principles, but he did not have much respect for the present leaders of that party. He despised the Locofocos and could not tolerate the "possums"—that is, those who belong to the "no-party party"—or the abolitionists. It is difficult to find any American who has not fully made up his mind on politics. I almost envied my companion his absolute certainty in such respects. To be sure, such people's ideas on the subject are rather narrow, but in their narrow little field they feel quite as much at home as on the little piece of land they have cleared and fenced in the woods, and they feel as safe from attack as if they were behind a threefold fence. We parted company near the river, just outside a house in which we could hear the voice of some enthusiastic and rather violent preacher. I went in and listened to him a while. He was an "Old Iron" Baptist preacher. His denomination, as far as I know, is the same as that which is known as the Calvinistic Baptists; or, at any rate, it has the same ideas as to predestination and thus stands in opposition to the "Free-will Baptists." The Seventh-day Baptists, or Sabbatarians, as they are also called, differ from other Baptists only in that they observe Saturday instead of Sunday as the Sabbath; they think it is wrong to put aside the Mosaic law in this regard, as so many other Christians do. Presumably they are split up into just as many parties among themselves as are the other Baptists.

XVI

FRONTIER COMMUNITIES IN WISCONSIN

I have not yet given an account of the last part of my stay in Wisconsin. I told you before about going with Judge Irvin on some of his circuit-tours. While I was in Rock County, I spent a Sunday with Pastor Clausen at Luther Valley, where he has built a handsome stone house. He plans to enlarge it later and to add a piazza or veranda in true American style. Near by a beautiful stone church is being built, the walls of which are already completed. A schoolhouse now serves as a church also. Clausen's ill health has not permitted him to conduct services for some time, and people have had to be content with the precentor, who in addition to leading the singing generally reads a sermon for them. I attended such services with Pastor Clausen and had the opportunity of meeting many of our countrymen. One thing which distinguished this gathering from an average country congregation in Norway was the fact that there were people here from all parts of Norway—upcountrymen, northerners, easterners, westerners, and *Nordmænd*.¹ This mingling is said to have been rather beneficial, for it has removed many of the local prejudices people brought with them from the various parts of Norway. Such prejudices have not completely disappeared, however; people from the vicinity of Bergen, in particular, are regarded as a people by themselves. And if one asks a man from Telemarken if he is a *Nordmand*, one may be sure that he

¹ The Norwegian reads *Oplændinger*, *Nordlændinger*, *Østlændinger*, *Vestlændiger*, og *Nordmænd*. In the mountain districts of Valdres, Hallingdal, and Telemark, those who live beyond the mountains are called *Nordmænd*, or "Northerners."

will answer "No," but he probably will add that there are some such people in the vicinity. He admits that he is a "Norwegian," but he does not like "those *Nordmænd*." The same prejudice is evident in the fact that *Nordmænd* seldom intermarry with other Norwegians.

As I had taken the trip out to Pastor Clausen's on foot and wanted to be back in Janesville somewhat early on Monday, I felt little inclined to call on many of the people in the settlement; but Pastor Clausen assured me that conditions were like those in other settlements I had visited—dirt and disorder in many of the homes. Undoubtedly, however, the prospects are much better for the young people who are growing up. A parochial school has been established, in which instruction is given six months of the year; the teacher, who is also the precentor, is paid ten dollars a month, I believe. He will presumably be made the teacher at the public school also because practically only Norwegians live in the vicinity; the former teacher there was likewise Norwegian, but now the position is vacant. In the public schools instruction is given only three months a year as a rule; and, as a result, no matter how well the teacher is paid during that short term, he has to engage in some other business as well in order to support himself.

Pastor Clausen will probably soon return to Europe and will settle either in Denmark, his own, or Norway, his wife's native land. I almost believe he prefers the latter. For the time being he is busy writing a book on America, which, to judge by a few portions of it that he read to me, will not merely discuss the merits of Wisconsin as an immigrant residence but will give a comprehensive survey of the history and the political institutions of the entire country. As he has spent several years in America, has been both pastor and farmer in several places, under conditions which made it imperative for him to familiarize himself with all that pertains to the lot of the immigrant and

since he is as trustworthy as he is capable and enterprising, his book will undoubtedly be a great help to Scandinavian immigrants in the future.

I visited the well-known Rock Prairie twice; if I remember correctly, it is twenty miles long and up to eight miles wide. If I may judge by the portion between Janesville and Elkhorn, which I visited, it is not very thickly populated, except right at the edge of the woods which surround it. Nevertheless, it is said that the whole prairie already has been bought, except for a few undesirable parts, so that now one must pay considerably more than the government price. The price of wood has likewise increased so that it is far more expensive here than elsewhere to build houses and fences. The experiment carried on here by the man from Janesville, which I mentioned before, probably could not be repeated now. Water is usually struck at a depth of thirty or forty feet, but occasionally, as before stated, it is very difficult to obtain. One man told me that a friend of his had to dig down 140 feet, but then he was amply rewarded by striking most excellent water. The most amazing accounts are given of the caprices of the water nymphs in this district. Bottomless lakes or natural springs are found on hill-tops, or an abundance of water is struck a few feet from the surface on a hill-side, while at the bottom of the hill one may have to dig down a hundred feet. Near Rock River, however, one always seems to find water as soon as he has dug down to the level of the river. I asked if the summer heat at Rock Prairie was not often unbearable, since there is scarcely a tree to protect one against the heat of the sun. I was told that, on the contrary, such a prairie is more agreeable in the summer than woodland, because there is always a fresh breeze.

Such prairies are generally described by American writers as "gloriously beautiful" or else "awfully terrible," but I must say I agree with Captain Marryat, who says he did

not see anything especially striking about them.² This applies particularly to prairies already under cultivation, where fields and meadows take up most of the land, while the rest is used for pasture; such stretches do not differ materially from any other large, open area that has never been designated as a prairie. Nevertheless there is something striking about them to the Norwegians, who are accustomed only to mountains and valleys. As one gazes out over such a prairie, the houses seem like ships on a sea of cornfields, wheatfields, and meadows, gently rolling in the wind, and the woods form a broken coast line with a promontory here and a deep recess there, lined with a border of cheerful white houses. When a warm October sun sheds its rays over such a scene, illuminating the distant windows and shedding a benignant glamor over the rich fields, one is reminded of a pleasant Danish landscape, although everything here is much grander and more majestic. Even its lonely and somber aspect gives it an appearance of grandeur like that of such parts of Norway as are still untouched by the hand of man. Furthermore, the imagination imparts to this new land, only recently snatched from the wilderness, the glamor of a future splendor to which no soil that has yielded to the plough for hundreds of years can lay claim. The last time I passed by Rock Prairie was Sunday, the third of October. A few days before, I had driven by early in the morning just as the sun was rising. Such a dense fog hung over the prairie that I first thought it was a huge lake.

In the midst of the prairie, some six miles before one reaches the belt of woods at Janesville, there is a little grove known as Emerald Grove, the very name of which

² The translator has been unable to find in Marryat's writings any statement such as that attributed to the Englishman by Ræder. In volume 2, page 49, of the *Diary in America*, the prairies near Lake Winnebago are described as "beautiful beyond description," and on page 132 the prairies are compared to the ocean.

indicates the scarcity of trees thereabouts. It is claimed, nevertheless, that nature is more than willing to produce trees on the prairie, even without the help of man. A few years ago Mr. Owen,³ with no less than 139 assistants, made a geological survey of the mining territory in the northwestern part of the state. In his report to the government, published in 1842, he states that if prairie fires could be prevented, the prairies would soon be covered with trees. Experience has shown that the American aspen readily springs up on the prairie and prepares the way for many other varieties of trees which soon follow it.

People who are looking for the picturesque, as well as those who are more concerned about the religious welfare of the people, are keenly aware of the absence of churches, or at any rate of such churches as reveal their identity from a distance; the only distinctive feature one is likely to find on such a building is a little cross in front. Church bells are seldom heard, much less chimes such as those which in many European countries at the close of services send their simple, inspiring hymn-tunes pealing forth to hosts of worshipers in country and town. In this country when one sees a tower and hears bells, it is more likely to be in connection with a courthouse than a church. Even if services are held in such a building,—and this often occurs, for many of the sects have as yet no “meeting-houses,”—this is done only

³ David Dale Owen, son of Robert Owen, the famous social reformer, was born in Lanarkshire, Scotland, in 1807. In 1839 he was appointed geologist by the United States government under instructions from the general land office to make a minute examination of the mineral lands of Iowa. In 1844 he published his *Report of a Geological Exploration of a Part of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois in 1839*. In 1849 the government sent him on a second expedition to the same part of the country, mainly to explore Minnesota. In 1852 appeared his *Report of a Geological Exploration of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and Incidentally a Portion of Nebraska Territory*. He served as geologist of Kentucky, 1854 to 1857, of Arkansas, 1857 to 1859, and of Indiana from 1859 to his death in 1860.

with the permission of the authorities on condition that it shall not interfere with the regular work of the courthouse. Often worshipers meet in school houses, which are rather inadequate for such a purpose. Even in such a prosperous little town as Janesville there are as yet no churches, although work has been begun on one.

XVII

THE AMERICAN INDIANS

At Jefferson I saw, for the first time, a real canoe, made of a hollow tree trunk. Naturally, I got into it and tried the little paddle by which it is propelled. Here on our steamboat we have two birch-bark canoes which are so light that a person can easily carry one on his back. The pieces of bark are sewed together with root-fibers, and the seams are coated with tar. The bark is lined with thin boards, and the whole thing is held together by ribs a few inches apart.

I caught a glimpse of an Indian wigwam on the way from Madison to Aztalan. An Indian sat in the entrance and gave us a sleepy look. While I was in Jefferson I was told that there was, or at any rate had recently been, a wigwam near by, and I started out to hunt for it after the clerk of the court had shown me the way. But I found that the Indians had left with their wigwams, and only the stakes remained. They had chosen a beautiful location close to a dark little stream which had cut a deep, meandering course between green banks overgrown with oak and tamarack. Everything appeared fresh from the hand of nature, but so melancholy, quiet, and lonely that we scarcely ventured to talk above a whisper for fear that the local deity might become aware of our intrusion.

The only opportunity I have had to see a somewhat sizable group of Indians was a few miles out of Madison on the road to Mineral Point, at a place where we stopped for dinner. A considerable number of Indians were gathered outside the house in picturesque groups, some on horseback, others standing near by or leaning against the fence

looking at us as we drew up in front of the door. They proved to be a group of Pottawatomie just returning from some place near Green Bay, where they had received the annual payment provided for in their treaty with the United States government. Their bearing as well as their comparatively clean and well-kept clothing seemed to indicate that they were persons of some consequence. They were not dressed, as were the Menominee whom I once saw, in wide English blankets draped about them like togas. They used clothing of the same material in the form of a sort of paletot¹ girt about with a belt having a powder-horn and other accessories attached, and plentifully decorated with brass nails; the upper part of their clothing was made of skins. Their raven-black hair was arranged in braids somewhat in Chinese fashion, except that there were two, one on each side of the head; some of them let their hair fall naturally down over their shoulders. One of them had stuck a rooster's feather into his hair, which gave him a rather comical appearance, and another had stuck his pipe into his hair in the same way. Their faces were decorated with red stripes, some with green ones also. Both their features and their clothing reminded me somewhat of our Lapps, although they were taller, more dignified, and also more cleanly. As the weather was rather cold they came into the guest parlor and gathered around the fire with us while we were waiting for our dinner. Thus we should have had a splendid opportunity to get acquainted, if there had only been some language in which we could have conversed with them. They appeared to know only their own language or else they did not care to speak any other. I addressed one of them in English but he only shook his head.

It must not be supposed that the Indians took much money back with them from their meeting with the Amer-

¹ A paletot is a kind of loose outer garment or coat for men.

ican agent. The Yankees see to it that not a cent is taken out of the country. When the annual payments are made, a host of merchants gather at the place, provided with all sorts of goods, especially liquor. Some of them always manage to keep the Indians in debt to them by giving them goods on credit, somewhat as the merchants in Bergen used to do with the Nordlændings. This practice, however, seems to be disappearing, as the Indians have lost their old reputation for honesty and it is generally rather difficult to force them in any way to meet their obligations. The Indians have thus found one way of retaliating against the American traders, who generally make them pay two or three times the value of the goods. The Indians simply pour out their money as long as it lasts, without much regard for prices.

There is a special class of American traders who live among the Indians, marry Indian girls, often three or four of them, and have a bad name for dishonesty. Their children, the so-called half-breeds, inherit their business and regard themselves as American citizens when there is any advantage to be gained by that and as Indians whenever these receive any government allowances, but generally as neither the one nor the other, inasmuch as they gladly cheat both. Another class of half-breeds are the descendants of the earlier French settlers. The Frenchmen are noted for the ease with which they amalgamate with the Indians. During the last century the French government sent a number of them out among the Indians in order to civilize them, but they soon gave up that plan, as most of the men took such delight in the adventurous life of the Indians that they adopted Indian customs and forgot their native land. Many of the half-breeds exercise the right to vote, although a number of them have signed treaties with the United States as Indian chiefs.

It is peculiar how little the Americans know about the Indians, their language, their mode of life, their customs, and their history. Congress is taking steps, however, to remedy this defect, and has authorized an investigation. Among others, Mr. Randall, a member of the executive committee of the historical society at Cincinnati, was requested to accompany a geological expedition to the vicinity of Lake Superior. A son of Dale Owen, famous both as a geologist and as a socialist, was in charge of the expedition.² I had the good fortune to meet the whole party on board the "Red Wing." I knew nothing about it at first, and I wrote the first part of this letter during the first few days we were out, before we had had much opportunity to get acquainted. I have now found that many of my fellow-passengers are not only capable and interesting men but are also very agreeable companions. Randall told me that he planned to return and spend a year among the Chippewa Indians in order to study their customs and write a book about them; and he promised to send me a copy of it. The Chippewa are one of the most intelligent tribes and their language is the most highly developed of them all. It is the one that is best known to the whites, as there exist a dictionary of it in English and one in French; both are in manuscript but it is planned to publish them. The Chippewa differ from their old enemies the Sioux in language and customs, their ways of building canoes and wigwams, and so on. As an example, I shall merely mention the different ways in which they propose marriage. A Chippewa suitor gives his loved one a burning stick or piece of paper; if she blows it out, it is a sign of rejection. A Sioux, on the other hand, goes about it in a manner similar to that forbidden in Norway by a rescript of 1778. Etiquette demands that the girl shriek if she does not want a particular suitor,

² Ræder presumably refers to David Dale Owen, son of Robert Owen. See *ante*, p. 139, n. 3.

and the more piercing her shriek is, the more obvious is her aversion as well as her good breeding.

In the East sympathy for the Indians is general. People regret their sad fate and wish at any rate to make their decay and disappearance as painless as possible. In the West, on the other hand, people generally despise and hate the Indians. They make no attempt to look at things "from a higher standpoint," nor do they speculate much about the fate of the Indians as a people and a race. They find it a great nuisance that the Indians never seem to accustom themselves to the fact that the country no longer belongs to them. They dislike to have these dirty, dangerous-looking Indians come into their houses and terrify their wives and children. They dislike having people about the neighborhood who do not recognize the authority of the laws of the state. The states often treat the Indians unjustly, complain to the federal government of the nuisance that they often are, and urge that they be driven still farther back. I recently saw a very interesting letter from the state legislature of Missouri to Congress, asking that a new territory be organized to the west of Missouri and proposing that the Indians be expelled from an area large enough to make several new states.³ I shall quote a small portion of this interesting document:

It is a well-known fact that the Indians are only fit to be hunters, and that the game west of us as far as the great plains has almost disappeared. The Indian tribes here are merely living on what the federal government pays them. When these payments cease, they must either perish or steal. They are already a nuisance, but when

³ "In the House and Senate Journals of the Missouri General Assembly of 1846-47, mention is made of this paper under the title of 'Memorial to Congress, on the subject of organizing a territory west of the State of Missouri.' This memorial passed both the Senate and the House and was signed by Governor Edwards on February 16, 1847." Floyd C. Shoemaker to the translator, July 3, 1928.

that time comes they will be a real menace to our citizens. No matter how much sentiment our poets have expended on them nor how deep a sympathy the philanthropist may feel for them, our statesmen must realize that the Indians can live only as hunters and that their fate is apparently to live, roam, and then vanish together with the elk and the buffalo. Give them their place out on the prairies, protect them on their hunting-grounds, and with half the money that is now wasted on them you will see them calmly and contentedly gliding down the stream of their fate. They will thus be removed from the depravity which always seems to attend their intercourse with the whites. They will, in a sense, be of service to our country, as are our soldiers, in holding back the savage Crows and the treacherous Comanche. Erect a line of forts along the route to Oregon and a few sentry posts on the border, spread the white settlements out as far as possible along the way; and, instead of having Oregon seem almost like a foreign country, you will bring the immigrants so close to one another that they will scarcely notice how far away from us they are. Their communications will be protected against the wild bandits to the north, and with the help of a railroad a trade will soon spring up which will bring to our country the wealth of Asia and will completely remove all fear that even the most distant portion of our Union shall ever be separated from us.

The Indians in turn make frequent complaints to Washington of the real or the imagined injustice to which they are subjected. A number of laws have been passed for their protection, and the only trouble is that they are never enforced! At present there is considerable excitement about some discreditable work on the part of the government agent himself. In the hotel where I stayed at Galena there was a young man, three-eighths Chippewa but entirely civilized in his ways, who was traveling to Washington as a sort of Indian ambassador to defend their interests in connection with a disputed interpretation of the treaty recently concluded with General Verplank. It is specified in the treaty that certain lands west of Wisconsin are to be abandoned in favor of a new territory, Minnesota, which is to

be established there. To begin with, the Winnebago are to be placed there.⁴

⁴ The Winnebago Indians in Iowa having made themselves a nuisance, it was decided to move them north into Minnesota, where they would serve as a buffer tribe between the Sioux and the Chippewa. For that purpose the so-called Long Prairie reservation, northwest of what is now St. Cloud, Minnesota, was acquired from the Chippewa by a treaty of August 2, 1847, signed by Isaac A. Verplank and Henry M. Rice; and a supplementary treaty with the Pillager band of the Chippewa Indians was made on August 21, and signed by the same commissioners. Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, 2: 567-569 (Washington, 1904); William Watts Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 1: 310, 321 (St. Paul, 1921).

XVIII

SOCIAL LIFE ON THE FRONTIER

During my sojourn in Wisconsin I had a pretty good opportunity to become acquainted with the state of affairs and to admire the earnestness and the intelligence with which people strove to better their conditions. Very little can be said about the customs of the people that will apply to all, because in a group so recently thrown together from all parts of the earth, there are not as yet any distinct group characteristics. Because in most places there is not a single grown man or woman native to the place or, indeed, to the territory, there is not, of course, a great deal of local attachment such as that which in Norway binds a person to one particular locality. Wisconsin has become their home simply because, after weighing the arguments pro and con, they have decided that they probably can get along better there than where they have been before. Many of them have moved a number of times, always farther west, and they will very likely do so again. There is nothing narrowly local about either their patriotism or their plans and enterprises. Their sentiments have been subjected to their reason and as a result have become clearer and broader; they have become helpful instead of harmful. All are Americans and their nationalism is constantly increasing as they become more conscious of a common history, with memories of common enterprises and common glory. This patriotism is more concentrated and therefore stronger than it would be if people also bestowed their affection upon some particular state or community as the best spot in the Union and the universe. It might seem as though the rather glowing accounts an American sometimes gives about his home

community bear evidence of rather strong local feeling, but the main explanation is simply that those things which are close at hand have impressed him more than those which are more distant. It is not so much a sentimental liking for one spot as an evaluation of its natural resources, the progress that has been made there, and so on. Furthermore, it is to his interest to attract as many people as possible to his community, and all sorts of "puffs" have become, as it were, a part of Brother Jonathan's speculative business sense.

People living on the western frontier, many of whom have gone there to make up for failures or misplaced investments in the East, quite generally give up for the time being those pleasures and social observances which usually accompany a higher civilization. Some of them take a liking for the simple life which they have been obliged to adopt, and allow their suspension of luxuries of every kind to continue "without day," but others introduce their accustomed refinements as soon as they are able. In a number of homes at Madison, Elkhorn, and Janesville, I found all the comforts and all the elegance that we generally associate with the upper classes in Europe. In some of these homes I even saw candle-snuffers and handkerchiefs in use. People no longer sit around spitting at the stove as is the fashion out here in the West; tobacco chewing is restricted if not altogether outlawed, and cuspidors protect the floor and the carpets. What I have said about the use of handkerchiefs must not be taken to mean that such articles are an unknown commodity out here but only that they are used rather economically, after the major operation has been performed with the fingers. Women are not guilty of such a practice, but even the most elegantly attired gentlemen are often very proficient at it. As far as the absence of candle-snuffers is concerned, I must admit that I first thought it was total and I was very agreeably surprised when I found one at Jefferson. One learns to appreciate the value of such

things after he has had to get along without them for some time, as I had. Although the specimen I found at Jefferson was in such shape that it took two men to repair it, I could not help regarding it as one of the masterpieces of modern civilization. Here along the Mississippi there are candle-snuffers, but their form bears evidence of the fact that their manufacture and use have long been forgotten arts and have but recently been revived.

As a final evidence of the extent to which gentlemen of the higher classes have been able to break away from the current practices may be mentioned the fact that some of them no longer polish their own shoes. Skill in this art, indeed, is generally regarded as one of the essentials of a true gentleman, as was most natural in a country where one could not wear nicely polished shoes unless he did the polishing himself. But now, thanks largely to the stream of Norwegian and German immigrants, people are beginning to keep servants; and consequently this standard as to what constitutes a gentleman no longer applies, since its neglect no longer necessitates the wearing of disreputable shoes. So much progress has been made that on special occasions, such as the court sessions, when a large number of distinguished gentlemen are gathered, it often happens that some ambitious individual offers his services as boot-black and puts up announcements at public places, for the benefit of those who feel that they have not time to do the job themselves.

Generally speaking, I believe that Wisconsin has acquired more European flavor than most of the other districts in the West. This is due partly to the fact that the Norwegian, German, and Irish immigrants provide a class of servants more obedient and less exacting than the Yankees but not servile and thoughtless as the negroes. Furthermore, most of the Americans here have come from New England and New York, where the greatest culture and refinement

is to be found. Among these people there is none of that coarseness which one meets so often in the southwestern states, in spite of the smooth, polished exterior; it finds abundant nourishment there in the slavery system, at all times and all places an abomination, despite all arguments to the contrary.

One of the finest features of life in Wisconsin is the general moderation in the use of strong drink. Although I spent over a month in the company of such men as one would generally expect to lead a somewhat merry life, and under circumstances that offered special temptations in this direction, I never saw anything that could have offended even the strictest temperance man. Wine was never served with meals or in the evening. At most a glass of grog was occasionally served after dinner, and a glass of beer in the evening was considered a luxury. On one occasion a young lawyer just admitted to the bar wanted to establish himself by a general treat, and he invited me and the others who were present to accompany him to the bar-room of his hotel. On the way I asked someone what happened on such occasions and was told that one could have his choice of all sorts of good things, in addition to cigars. I was looking forward to a real celebration, but alas! the only choice was between "brandy and water" and "whisky and water." That rather robbed the treat of its pleasure as far as I was concerned.

And what a difference there is between an American and an English court dinner! As far as the food itself is concerned the difference is evident from the fact that the former costs about a Norwegian mark and the latter more than two *specier*,¹ not including the cost of wine. In England the party is made up of the counsellors alone, as the judges

¹ A *speciedaler* amounted to about \$1.08. It was equal in value to 5 *ort* (or marks) and to 120 skillings. Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, 2: 449.

generally eat by themselves, and the attorneys as well as clerks and other officers of the court are excluded. Here in Wisconsin all without exception, jury, witnesses, defendants, and so on, gather about the dinner-table at the hotel while court is in session. The English counsellors eat their dinner in the evening, after the toil of the day is over, while the Americans take an hour and a half at noon, but they devote only a small part of it to gulping down their dinner. The Englishmen enjoy their dinner; the Americans just eat it. The Englishmen lay aside their professional dignity together with their gowns and wigs in order to drown their cares in champagne and burgundy with song and merriment. The Americans change neither their clothes nor their manners, drink their water in silence and consider how they are going to tackle the case that comes on at 1:30. In England, not only does the exclusive flavor that attaches itself to such a small, select group tend to give it a somewhat higher tone, but the knowledge of the strict code of honor that prevails among them as well as their broad general culture and the outstanding abilities that have elevated them to positions of trust and honor — all these factors tend to purify the atmosphere about them, so to speak, and give a visitor the agreeable sensation of being in particularly good company.

Here, in this section of America especially, there are many of the lawyers who do not particularly command one's respect, either for their natural abilities or for their culture and training. When a lawyer in the East finds the competition too sharp for him he generally goes west. The same is true of many young men who hesitate to begin their careers too close to their home communities, where every one knows them. I have spoken with some lawyers of this kind, who knew so little about European conditions even in their own special field that they thought the English common law was in force in Norway. One of them was greatly

surprised when I told him that we not only had our own laws but our own government as well; he had the impression that we were subjects of Queen Victoria! The lawyers out here do have their merits, however. They certainly are kind and obliging to strangers. Furthermore, many of them play trumpets, trombones, flutes, or other musical instruments; these come together and organize bands which enliven things very considerably as the court visits the different towns. One of my good friends is an excellent piccolo player.

XIX

A WINTER JOURNEY THROUGH THE ALLEGHENIES¹

WASHINGTON, December 28, 1847

Dear Caroline:

Believe me, I was glad when I finally received the letter, dated September 17, from you and the other dear ones at home, after I had not heard a word from you for several months. It was not without some anxiety that I opened the envelope which enclosed writing of such great importance to me, but I soon felt relieved at the information that nothing startling had taken place, and so I settled down to a real enjoyment of the letters and to meditations on the life back home, of which they all gave such a faithful portrayal — a life not unmixed with sorrow and suffering, indeed, and yet certainly not without joy and hope. An earlier letter, which must have been written some time in July or August, has unfortunately been lost in the mail. Løvenskjold says he sent me such a letter from New York to Cincinnati in October, in accordance with my instructions. When I was informed of this fact upon my arrival here I wrote to Mr. Gahn in Cincinnati, asking him to inquire for the letter at the post office. I had several times asked for mail there myself, and looked over the lists of unclaimed letters in the newspapers. I received a letter from him some time ago stating that one of the clerks at the post office, after a thorough investigation, had failed to find any such letter. The mail service

¹ This letter is one not published in the newspaper series but included in the manuscripts in the possession of Dr. Ulrik Anton Ræder. See *ante*, p. vi. Not all of the letter has been preserved; the manuscript stops abruptly in the middle of a sentence.

here in the United States is not at all reliable, and everyone complains of the postmaster general, poor Mr. Johnson.²

I believe I left off in my account of my experiences in "the Queen City of the West" a few days before I left there. Mr. Chase, whom I have mentioned before, is a highly talented lawyer to whom I had a letter of introduction from a lawyer in St. Louis.³ He is an abolitionist, and was on a tour making talks against slavery when I came to Cincinnati, and so I did not have an opportunity to make his acquaintance until one of the last days I was there. He took me home to his family on an evening when he was expecting some abolitionist friends from Kentucky. We went out to the aristocratic residence district of the city, not very far from the Trollopian bakery-building,⁴ and I soon found myself in a very elegant parlor, where I met the three ladies of the house. The Kentuckians soon arrived also. They all appeared to be pleasant, cultured people, and so were the ladies too, and I spent a very enjoyable evening with them.

As is the custom in American homes, we had tea soon after the guests had arrived and after that no refreshments were served with the exception of fruit and cake, which in this case the host brought around. At the table the host first read, in a very distinct tone, a prayer, which also in this country is a rather unusual procedure for a lawyer. I must say it raised him considerably in my estimation; and

² Cave Johnson of Tennessee was postmaster general in the cabinet of President Polk from 1845 to 1849.

³ Salmon Portland Chase (1808-1872) was admitted to the bar at Cincinnati in 1830, where he soon came into prominence as an abolitionist. He was successively United States senator, governor of Ohio, and secretary of the treasury under President Lincoln; and in 1864 he was appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court.

As there is no earlier reference to Chase in the Munch Ræder letters, it is possible that a letter has been lost.

⁴ For Mrs. Trollope's bazaar in Cincinnati, see *ante*, p. 120, n. 2.

his own manner, as well as that of the other abolitionists there, certainly tended to refute the opinion I had so often heard expressed, that the abolitionist party is not inspired by moral motives, but is merely playing politics.

I have written so much about this evening because it was the only one in which I had an opportunity to observe a social gathering of men and women, with the exception of a *soiree* arranged by some ladies for the benefit of an orphans' home. This was a dance, at which an enormous number of cotillions were danced, with some rather amazing steps. But it seemed as though such affairs were not attended by the upper class of society, which, even in this republican country, leads a rather exclusive existence. One evening I went to the theater, a plain but quite presentable building with two tiers of boxes, and there I saw Madame Morgan, so famous here, in some plays, one of which was "Mary Tudor." The audience applauded her, just as in St. Louis, but not so violently.

I left on a steamship for Pittsburgh on a Monday morning. This is a shorter trip than that from St. Louis to Cincinnati, but it costs more—seven dollars. There were several Congressmen on board, among them a well-known Locofoco senator from Ohio, Mr. Allen.⁵ Some of them landed at Wheeling, from which point they proceeded by way of the National Road. A number of them, however, remained on the boat until we reached Pittsburgh late Wednesday evening. I went ashore the next morning to see the city and to visit a few courts. The weather was very foul, and the city was filthy. It looked very attractive in the evening when one could see nothing of it except the flames which rose from the factories all the time. Here as in Cincinnati

⁵ William Allen of Ohio was United States senator from 1837 to 1849. He was chairman of the committee on foreign relations and distinguished himself in the dispute between Great Britain and America in regard to the Oregon boundary.

I found time to visit a number of the factories, which as a rule are imposing and at the same time efficiently constructed affairs. Pittsburgh is located at the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela rivers, which join to form the Ohio River. The city is built along both of these rivers, which are crossed by several covered bridges with gangways along both sides for pedestrians. A canal goes across one of these bridges. In spite of the fact that Pittsburgh has a population of about forty thousand, there were no places of public amusement of any kind. In this respect, then, Pittsburgh differs radically from Cincinnati.

Friday afternoon I went on board another steamship, buying my ticket to Baltimore, or rather to the so-called Midway House a few miles south of Baltimore, where the Baltimore-Washington railway is reached. For ten dollars, then, one is transported by rail to Brownsville, thence by stagecoach over the Allegheny Mountains to Cumberland, the terminal of the so-called Baltimore-Ohio Railroad. We arrived at Brownsville early Saturday morning and left there in bad weather and over bad roads. My only consolation was that I had a beautiful and cheerful young girl at my side, but even here there was a rather serious drawback, because she had an old and repulsive and very amorously inclined fellow sitting on the other side of her, who was obviously her lover; certainly he could not have been her husband, since whenever there was an opportunity to get off, he was over in front of a mirror combing his hair and otherwise trying to make himself presentable. A coach leaves Brownsville for Cumberland in the morning as well as in the evening. I had arranged matters so that I arrived on the morning train in the hope that I might thus, as the posters promised me, avoid the trip by night. But the road was in such wretched condition, in spite of the fact that it was the National Road, that we were happy to reach our destination the following morning at five o'clock. Every time horses

had to be changed, at least half an hour was wasted, and, in addition, many stops were made in order to water the horses. At night the delays were still greater. At one place the postmaster complained of the irregularity in the coming of the coach, and emphasized the need of extending the telegraph line in that direction so that he might know where the coach was at all times. This would indeed be an improvement, but it would be still better if they could do away with the stagecoaches altogether, and actually construct the railroad of which there has been so much talk. Just how this can be effected, though, I must certainly leave to the wise; the mountains are very high and there is no way of getting around them. The matter has, however, just been brought up by the governor of Maryland, who has urged the legislature to take definite action leading to the construction of such a railroad.

The mountains were now partly covered with snow, and presented, on the whole, a rather rugged appearance. This was the first snow I had seen in America, with the exception of the trifle that fell at Cincinnati about the twentieth of November, the first snow they had there this winter. As soon as we had passed the mountains these traces of winter also disappeared, and we found ourselves again in a very agreeable climate, even if it did not quite equal what we had on the journey on the Mississippi and the Ohio, during which the weather was often so warm that we found it comfortable to walk about on the deck without our overcoats.

On our journey we passed huge droves of swine, which were being driven through Ohio and Kentucky to the East, where, particularly in Baltimore, they are butchered in a new way, of which the people in Cincinnati have no knowledge or experience. After having seen the quantities that were driven into the slaughter-houses at Cincinnati, or out again in the form of pork, I could not but marvel at the fact

that there still remained alive such huge flocks of the unfortunate swine-race. The poor animals left bloody traces of their fatigue in the snow. When they come to Cumberland, however, they are permitted to enjoy the luxury of a trip on the railroad to Baltimore. Cumberland was simply full of them and I read somewhere that thirteen thousand of them were transported this way every week.

During the last part of our journey to Cumberland the general subject of conversation was the fact that the mail from the East had not yet arrived, and that, consequently, the train which should have brought the mail to Cumberland must have been delayed for one reason or another. When we arrived at Cumberland, the train had just come in — or, rather, the passengers had. The train itself was a heap of scraps and splinters on a covered bridge twenty or thirty miles away. Two cows had apparently decided to take a nap right across the rails, and there they were when the train approached at dusk. The cows were cut to pieces, the train jumped the tracks, and the three long passenger cars were broken to bits. Strangely enough, not a single person was injured; even a couple who jumped out of the windows escaped unhurt. Large gaps were made in the bridge along the rails, and I was told that one person had actually remained hanging over the water, clinging to a beam in the bridge. He, too, was saved. The ladies, of course, were thoroughly frightened, but I do not believe any of them fainted. I spoke with one of them at the breakfast table, where she was eating heartily to make up for any possible loss of strength, and she seemed to be in the best of humor.

For us who came from the West this accident meant that there was now only a single passenger car left at the station. I managed to find a place in this car, to be sure, in company with a fellow-passenger, but we were soon chased out by the ladies, who exercise an almost despotic power in all public places, and with the slightest nod drive even the oldest and

portliest men away from their places, just as one blows a feather away from a glass. We were obliged to climb up in a filthy, open baggage-car, where I, for my part, found a place on a trunk, together with a wounded American sergeant by the name of Crag, who was on his way to Washington to see about a pension for his services. Senators and representatives were likewise scattered about the car, surrounded by boxes and bundles. A Mr. Vager from Virginia, with whom I had already become acquainted on the way from Pittsburgh, and who had been a member of the Virginia legislature, showed me the courtesy of introducing me to one of the most distinguished senators, Mr. Hannegan of Indiana, and likewise gave me a letter of introduction to Senator Mason of Virginia.⁶ Incidentally, I found that I agreed perfectly with this Mr. Vager on the subject of slavery, in spite of the fact that he is a slave owner. He told me that it had never occurred to him that there was anything strange or unnatural about slavery, until one time at a slave-auction, when he witnessed the grief and the misery of the slaves as they waited to know their destiny, and their utter despair when they were sold to cruel masters. He had then decided never to buy any more slaves, and had arranged matters so that all his slaves should be given their freedom when he died. If any of them should run away, he would make no efforts to recapture them. So, at least, he said. It is a common practice to punish a slave for mis-

⁶Edward A. Hannegan was United States senator from Indiana from 1843 to 1849, and minister to Prussia in 1849 and 1850.

James Murray Mason was United States senator from Virginia from 1847 to 1861, and chairman of the Senate committee on foreign relations for ten years. During the Civil War he served as Confederate commissioner to Great Britain and France.

"Mr. Vager" is perhaps Gerard B. Wager, who in 1833-34 was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates from Jefferson County (now part of West Virginia), in which Harper's Ferry lies. See Earl G. Swem and John W. Williams, eds., *Register of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1766-1918*, 135 (Richmond, 1918). Ræder implies later on that "Mr. Vager" lived at Harper's Ferry.

demeanors by selling him down to Louisiana. Mr. Vager had thought of doing this some time ago when one of his slaves committed, right in his house, one of the most serious crimes that anyone can commit. He changed his mind, however, and simply arranged that this particular slave should always be kept away from the house, probably by hiring him out to others, as is so often done. I parted company with this man at Harper's Ferry, where he is building himself a house.

When we reached the bridge where the accident had taken place the evening before, we had to stop, because, although a large number of people were there, very little had as yet been accomplished in the way of clearing away the huge piles of wreckage — the front parts of the elegant cars utterly demolished, and the side walls flung hither and thither. Two large pools of blood marked the places where the cows had met their fate. The impact must have been violent, since the curved iron rods in front of the locomotive were bent out of place. With all our baggage we had to leave our places and move to a train on the other side of the bridge, which had been sent from the next station to receive us.

The trip itself, it must be admitted, was picturesque enough. The territory through which the railroad passes, even if it is not the very top of the Alleghenies, is nevertheless a rugged mountain district. The course has been cut boldly into the side of bleak mountains, and follows, a large part of the way, a little stream, the beginning of the Potomac; where this winds around too much, the railroad, growing tired of following it, breaks its way right through the mountain-side and joins its companion on the other side. After they have run along side by side this way for a while, they change places — the railroad jumps over the stream and tries its luck on the other side, until it finally draws away entirely, and thus parts company with its playmate.

At Harper's Ferry the valley assumes a striking wildness, but, unfortunately, the railroad bridge at this point is covered, so that one cannot enjoy the view from there. At Harper's Ferry we ate dinner, after we had been coaxed, by means of eager invitations and wide-open doors, into going to an "opposition" restaurant, where we had occasion to marvel at the power of competition, when our really excellent dinner cost us only twenty-five cents, whereas, for a miserable breakfast the same day we had been charged, according to the common, but none too genial custom in that district, no less than half a dollar. We arrived at Midway House about eight o'clock that evening, after a trip of about twelve hours. The train to Washington had already left, so we had to stay there overnight. Several of the passengers had lost some of their belongings on the train, as a result of all the moving about they had experienced. One of the representatives, for example, had lost his suitcase. I felt a certain malicious satisfaction in the fact that I had all my property still with me, but the next morning I received my due punishment. I had decided to leave on the second train, which went at nine-thirty, but when I came down I found that all my baggage had disappeared. I was told that it must have gone on to Washington by mistake, but no one seemed to know for sure. I had to start out for Washington without it, but when I arrived there, I luckily found everything there in good order.

I had just come out from the station and was standing on Pennsylvania Avenue near the Capitol, waiting at the doorway of the baggage-room for a chance to tell my story, and was at the same time trying to keep off a whole swarm of hotel agents, when I heard a greeting in Danish near me. The voice was that of none other than Mr. Hansen—"the Comet,"—who told me that he had left New York four months ago and that he was now on the point of leaving for Baltimore to try his luck there. As I did not imagine

he would care to have anyone who knew his history come and stay at any place where he had been before, I did not ask him where he had lived, and he seemed to feel the same way about it at first. But after he had taken leave of me, he came back and recommended to me the place where he had stayed. I was rather glad to escape going to a hotel as my finances were rather low, and so I saw nothing to prevent me from going directly to the place which he had praised so highly, and here I have been staying ever since, and feel very well satisfied. Hansen had made himself very popular with the people here, and I am not saying anything to the detriment of his reputation. He had also urged me to call on a certain Mr. Marsh, with whom I had come in some slight contact, indirectly, through Løvenskjold.⁷ I thus already had reason enough for wanting to see this man, even if Mr. Hansen had not ascribed to him, among other excellent virtues, that of being in possession of my blessed history of the Constitution. Accordingly I very soon looked up this man, who is said to be the most learned man in the United States, and who, among other accomplishments, speaks Norwegian very well. He is a member of the House of Representatives from [Vermont].

⁷ George Perkins Marsh, representative from Vermont from 1843 to 1849, later served as United States minister to Turkey and Italy successively. His scholarly interests took him into many different fields. In the present connection it is interesting to note that, as Munch Ræder indicates, he acquired a knowledge of the Scandinavian people, and became the owner of a good collection of Scandinavian literature.

XX

EUROPEAN ECHOES IN NEW YORK

NEW YORK, March 24, 1848

Here in New York there is a great deal of excitement these days occasioned by the new French revolution. The news reached us last Saturday by a steamship from Liverpool. People here, however, have not much knowledge of what has actually taken place, except that the mob which had gathered about the Foreign Office became furious at the bloody scene that was enacted there; it is said that a provisional government has been established, or has established itself, and that a republic has been proclaimed by some. This report has here been accepted as an absolute certainty, and it is claimed that a dozen other kingdoms are likewise in open rebellion. The steamship was scarcely in the harbor before huge posters at the street corners proclaimed that France had become a republic, much to the amazement of the people who were then on their way to begin the day's business. They had just come from their breakfast tables where they had read in the morning paper complaints over the fact that the Liverpool steamship was already seven days overdue. All the papers at once put out extras and in every direction one could hear exclamations of surprise and joy.

The same evening a meeting of Irishmen was held in a building made conspicuous by a huge illuminated sign with "Hurrah for the French revolution!" in three languages. The following Sunday I heard a sermon in which reference was made to the emotions aroused in the hearts of all by the great news; the preacher tried to show that the signs of the

end of the world were beginning to appear—the sun and the moon were turned into darkness and the stars were falling from the heavens. Lest I appear to be accusing the good clergyman of talking pure nonsense, I might explain that he interpreted the sun to be the church; the moon, reason; and the stars, great and wise men. Since then the Irish have again had a meeting in which, among other things, it was “resolved” that the government of the United States would be entirely justified in meddling with the affairs of Great Britain sufficiently to help Ireland gain her independence, and copies of this resolution were sent to the president and to both houses of Congress. Furthermore, a committee was chosen to write a message to the French provisional government, to be sent on the steamship “Hibernia” tomorrow, and it was decided to send two men to France “to watch the difficulty of England and the opportunity of Ireland.”

In July a convention of Irishmen from all over the country will be held in Albany; the Irishmen here in New York are sending nine delegates. The Frenchmen, the Germans, and the Swiss have also held meetings this week and have fraternized with one another and with the Irishmen. At the French gathering, for example, Mr. O'Connor was present and offered the services of a whole regiment of Irishmen any time the French had need of them; naturally such an offer was received with thundering applause. England is treated, at any rate in the Irish meetings, in a manner that simply defies description; there certainly is not much filial respect and affection shown, to say the least. The greater the lies, the greater the applause. The various meetings have appointed committees which are now meeting to plan a general celebration when the next steamship arrives, which will be any day now, as it is already thirteen days from Liverpool. The city is to be illuminated, and the Germans are planning a grand general banquet; speeches are to be made in three or four languages at this mammoth

festival. Many believe that this steamship, the arrival of which is so eagerly anticipated, will have Louis Philippe himself as passenger, and many others take for granted that he will soon settle in this country. "If he will build himself a house on Union Square," a Yankee assured me the other day, "I'll guarantee him he shall be absolutely safe from any further trouble the rest of his life!" The legislature at Albany has moved to repeal the old regulation inherited from England, that an alien may not hold real estate; as a motive for such change it is hinted mysteriously that a number of distinguished aliens, presumably Frenchmen, wish to invest money in land in the State of New York.

Among many other peculiar rumors that are in circulation here in New York is one to the effect that the Pope has been deprived of his temporal power. This rumor has dropped like a bomb into the midst of the discussions in Washington of the advisability of establishing an embassy at Rome. The news of a half dozen constitutions and promises of constitutions brought us by the last two steamships have added to the excitement. But how tragic, indeed, it is to see such children brought to earth the same moment their French mother draws her last breath. These constitutions cannot be matured and they will surely die young.

And now, to top the excitement, comes the election of aldermen. Last Monday morning, just as the huge announcements of the coming meetings were being posted, full of "loyalty to republican principles" and the like, I passed, on my way to the City Hall, a huge crowd of people, more shabby looking than any other crowd I have seen in the United States. It seemed to be busy around a saloon doing something besides drinking bad liquor. A man went around among the people gesticulating wildly and shouting "Gentlemen, Gilmarin and Kelly," with a clearness of voice and enunciation that was quite surprising, considering how drunk he evidently was. I stopped to see what was going

on, and I soon discovered that this man together with a companion was striving to get people to take ballots bearing the two names just mentioned. I realized that I was face to face with "the people," if not in all its majesty, at any rate in preparation for the exercise of its sovereign right and authority. It was a preliminary meeting of a faction of the sixth ward's Locofocos, whose votes the two gentlemen were trying to win for themselves, in order to become their party's candidates for the offices of alderman and assistant alderman at the coming election. I entered the building where the voting was taking place to determine the strength of this group; it was a large, dark room nearly filled with little boys who were fighting among themselves. There were, however, a few adults who stood in silence about the mysterious ballot-box, eager to count every vote that was turned in.

Another Loco group had its meeting near by, and when the "gentlemen" there, mostly "Dutchmen" (that is, Hollanders and Germans) were through with their voting, presumably much too soon to suit themselves, they got the idea of going over to see how their opponents, mostly Irishmen, were getting along, and possibly to break up their meeting. In a few minutes the two factions actually came to blows. First missiles were used—stones and scraps of wood—and then a regular charge was made. But the assailants met such a formidable resistance at the steps that they had to retreat in disorder and left the field of battle. After picking up some reinforcements they came back to avenge their defeat, and the battle became hotter than ever. Luckily the battle field was situated about half-way between the City Hall and the Egyptian Hall, where the city officials have their headquarters. It was thus a simple matter for them to intervene when they thought the factions had had enough fighting to satisfy them. A "posse" was sent—that is, a group of policemen—to quell the disturbance.

This they succeeded in doing, after first tasting a few of the "arguments" which the factions had so far been using effectively against each other. There were no deaths. I do not know whether the French revolution was the cause of this row or not, but I should rather imagine it was. Such election riots are unusual here; there have not been any, I am told, since 1843. If it had been a mere fight over a card game or something of that sort it would not have been so strange; for such disturbances are frequent.

It is not only human beings who are wild these days; the dogs, too, are going mad. In Philadelphia there were signs at all the street corners giving notice that the dog-day regulations were to be in force throughout February, and every good citizen was urged to carry a bottle of chloroform and a sponge in his pocket, to apply to the noses of any dogs he happened to meet, mad or otherwise. The horses are exposed to another misfortune. Every day a stable or two is burned, and always a number of horses are burned to death. Presumably most of the fires are started purposely, whether by horse-dealers or not I shall not venture to guess. I have heard such a claim made, but it sounds rather far-fetched, I must admit.

XXI

THE AMERICANS AND EUROPE

BOSTON, May, 1848

The Americans are as interested as ever in watching developments in Europe. Every time the telegraph brings the news that a steamship is in sight off Boston harbor, or that one has arrived at New York, the streets are filled with people curious to hear the latest reports. All flock to the newspaper offices and there is great competition among the various papers as to which one shall reap the profits of satisfying the public. An army of little boys waits impatiently outside the newspaper offices. As soon as the papers are out they rush off in every direction noisily crying their wares. Posters are put up here and there, giving brief summaries of the most important news in huge letters painted with brush and ink—for example, “War! War! War! Cotton goes up. Attempted overthrow of the provisional government.” I live in the center of the city, near the newspaper offices. An hour ago, when I passed by, I noticed two huge posters announcing that messages were being received from New York, where the steamship “Cimbria” arrived this morning, and now people are returning home reading their “Extra Times.” I see that the Danes are reported to have won a victory at “Schnellmarker.”¹ Is that name correct? Morse’s telegraph often makes mistakes in names, but a

¹ No such battle is mentioned in the six-volume *Danmarks Riges Historie*, in which the period 1814-1864 is treated by Adolf Ditlev Jørgensen in part of volume 6. The Danes did win an important victory over the rebellious Schleswig-Holsteiners at Bov, on April 9, 1848, the battle which marked the opening of the war. Jørgensen, in *Danmarks Riges Historie*, 6: 411-412. See *post*, p. 193, n. 1.

better system has been devised by a Mr. Bain.² It was first said that we could not expect any news by telegraph this time because a severe storm in the last few days had blown down some of the telegraph poles, but the damage has evidently been repaired, thanks to a little extra exertion as well as a trifling violation of the Sabbath by the repairmen (this is Sunday, you see).

Great as is the interest in European affairs now, it can scarcely be compared with that during the first French Revolution, when even the political campaigns centered about European rather than American problems. Nowadays the situation is quite different. America has become a mighty nation herself and she looks across at what is going on in Europe rather with an eye to her own profit than because she feels herself a member of the European family. Many seem to rejoice most in the rise of democracy in Europe, which they attribute largely to the example of America. Everywhere people express the hope that much European capital will now be put into American bonds, as a result of lack of confidence in the credit of the European nations. It cannot be denied that Brother Jonathan's prejudices occasionally lead him into a few miscalculations. He is much surprised at the fact that American government bonds have not yet shown any tendency to rise in value. There is a great plenty of such bonds, as the United States has a debt of about one hundred million dollars, and a number of states have considerable debts also, for example, Illinois about twelve million, Pennsylvania about ten, and so forth. Nearly all the large cities have a large bonded debt, New York having one as large as twelve million dollars; its

² Alexander Bain patented in England his claim for an improved electro-chemical telegraph, in which the message was recorded by electricity upon paper chemically prepared; and in 1848 he entered his claim for an American patent, which was confirmed in 1849. Charles Frederick Briggs and Augustus Maverick, *The Story of the Telegraph*, 26 (New York, 1858).

annual expenditure, for state and city affairs, is over \$2,700,000, not counting customs expenses. Furthermore our Yankee friend is surprised at the fact that Louis Philippe has not yet appeared. Every time a steamship arrives it is reported as a surprising bit of news that he is not on board; sometimes it is first reported that he is and the mistake is afterwards corrected. It is said that Atlanta, Georgia, has "resolved" that it would be a quite ideal place for His Majesty to settle, and it has offered him a few hundred acres of excellent land.

The press, in the meantime, continues to attack him most savagely, probably more than anywhere else; it is, indeed, the same old story that always follows the fall of greatness. The most surprising of all, to the Yankee mind, is that *all* of the European nations have not got rid of their kings. That any liberty can be found in a monarchy is entirely out of the question. I must confess that I agree with the sentiment here inasmuch as I think it would be curious, indeed, if the revolution in Germany resulted in the setting up of two new monarchs, a kaiser and a duke, not to speak of a Polish king. Many people here imagine that a president will be placed at the head of the German central government, which will thus become a rather peculiar republic of monarchies. I should be more inclined to suppose that both the individual states and the central government might become republican. The Germans in this country are the most enthusiastic of all in their political demonstrations, and many of them have gone to Germany to proclaim that a republican form of government is the only solution for the problems of that country. The American mass meetings have as a rule not been unmixed with political motives on the part of their leaders. Such was the case at the huge mass meeting in New York at which the papers say 150,000 people were present (perhaps a fourth of that number would come closer to the truth). The Whig mayor, Mr.

Brady, presided and tried to patch up his own popularity for the coming elections. He did not succeed very well, however, because he was defeated by the Locofoco candidate, Mr. Henemeyer. One of his last official acts was to instruct his secretary to give me a copy of the city ordinances.

One of the most unpleasant results of these sympathy-meetings is that the slaves here and there have got the idea that they, too, have human rights and privileges. It is particularly in the most northern slave states, those nearest to the free states, that the most "corrupted" slaves are to be found. Some of them in Washington formed a very wicked plot to deprive their masters of their "lawful property." Seventy-five men, women, and children fled on a ship, but were captured by a steamship and brought back to Washington in chains. Most of them have since been sold down south, whence there will be no chance for escape. All the repulsive features of a slave auction appeared on this occasion. Fathers and mothers were parted from their children and from each other, to be sent far away with no other prospects than the whip, deep disgrace, and hard work. What prospects, indeed, for human beings who have become conscious of the glory of freedom and their own rights! It is said that two of the girls were almost white. Their brother, coachman to Mr. Walker,³ the Secretary of the Treasury, tried to purchase them from Mr. Slatter, a slave dealer at Baltimore who was preparing to take them to Georgia. But, as they were beautiful girls, he had prospects of getting a good price for them, and he asked such a large sum of money that their poor brother could not possibly raise the sum. The captain and the crew on the ship were put in jail, as they could not pay the \$75,000 asked in bail, and they are to be brought before the court on the charge of theft—"of

³ Robert J. Walker, secretary of the treasury from 1845 to 1849.

having stolen and carried off 75 slaves belonging to N. N.," et cetera. In the North money is now being collected to furnish bail for them so that they can be at liberty until the trial, and also to enable them to procure the services of competent lawyers. A member of the House of Representatives, Mr. Giddings, recently visited them in the jail, and his visit gave rise to some mob demonstrations outside.

More serious disorders took place outside the office of the Abolitionist paper, the *National Era*. People suspected the editor of having had some share in the attempted escape of the negroes. The whole police force of seventy men had to be called out and was reinforced by the assistance of government clerks, the gilded youth of the city. (I speak of them as gilded both for the reason generally mentioned in Christiania⁴ and because their salary is \$1,000 a year—more than that of the state governors!) The mob retired at the appearance of this powerful army, but as soon as the defenders had gone home and to sleep, the trouble-makers came back and shouted that they wanted to "tar and feather" the man under suspicion. He then stepped out on the porch of his house, accompanied only by his wife, and asked to be allowed to speak. He asserted that he had not had the least information as to the escape of the slaves sooner than any of the other citizens. He reprimanded them severely for attempting to interfere with the liberty of the press. The people decided that he was right and went home—an incident very correctly cited as proof of the fact that the true "mob spirit" does not thrive in Washington.

A far more disgraceful scene occurred soon afterwards in the United States Senate, when Senator Hale from New Hampshire proposed a law for the protection of private property in the District of Columbia, in which Washington is located, against mob violence. In spite of the fact that

⁴ The young exquisites of Christiania were called "gilded youth" (*den gyldne ungdom*).

the measure merely made the government responsible for damage thus caused, as is done by the laws in many of the slave as well as the free states, the representatives from the South fell into a violent passion and declared that the measure was a shameless attempt to undermine the rights of the slave owners and to protect thieves. Thus they openly defended the mob demonstrations as proper means for restraining the Abolitionists. Hale was declared to be worse than a highwayman, a despicable knave and scoundrel. Senator Foote of Mississippi invited him to visit his state, declaring that he would be welcomed with great joy; he would not get ten miles within the state boundary before his body would adorn the top of the highest tree. If Foote's assistance were needed to get the New Hampshire senator "strung up," he would with great pleasure help his fellow-citizens carry out such an act of popular justice. When he was asked later in the discussion if he had meant what he said, he solemnly declared that he had meant it literally, every word. Calhoun was more moderate and merely said that he might as well argue with a maniac as with Mr. Hale, when slavery was involved. The senators from the North shirked their part in the fray, and let their friend from New Hampshire stand almost alone. He took it all very coolly. Probably he was well pleased, for such a tumult would increase his standing among the opponents of slavery. Already he is being spoken of as a presidential possibility. A senator from Illinois declared that Mr. Foote's speech was worth at least 15,000 votes for Mr. Hale. No decision has yet been reached as to his measure, and probably none will be, either. Probably Mr. Foote is now receiving flattering letters from the South; here in the North I have heard him branded, among other things, as a "despicable scoundrel."

Most Europeans find that their hatred of slavery diminishes when they visit the slave states themselves. With me

the opposite proved to be the case, although I visited slave owners who showed the greatest kindness in dealing with their "property." One of them, for example, told me that he would never try to recapture a slave in case he ran away. Another owned a preacher to whom he granted almost complete freedom to study and travel. Those slaves whose moral and intellectual powers have been held at the lowest stage of development, almost like animals, are contented enough, and this contentment on their part is held up as a splendid argument against the fanaticism of the Abolitionists. The sight of such degradation was all the more painful to me because I felt that many of them, in spite of their obvious ignorance, had some slight consciousness, at any rate, of the fact that they were the victims of a shameful oppression. At a house where I stayed there was a young waiter who was almost white, so white that, as my hostess told me, he was often taken for a white. I questioned him a bit and found that he apparently had no ideas about God or religion, but he did know that he was a slave.

The political parties are arming themselves for the coming presidential campaign. The two most prominent Whig candidates have definitely explained their position. Clay, after returning home to Kentucky from a trip through the East, has openly declared that he is willing to be a candidate, but his letter reveals so much selfish pride that even some of his best friends have taken offense at it. Taylor for his part has taken a definite stand in saying that he will not withdraw even if his party at its coming convention gives another candidate its support. In other words, he will not feel bound to respect the efforts of the party to concentrate its votes on one candidate, but will present himself to the people as an independent candidate. The convention will thus have the choice of nominating him or breaking up the party. Taylor has furthermore stated that he will make a more sparing use of the right of veto than has hitherto been

done. This is a wise move for either of the parties, for although the Whigs particularly, since they have been out of power so long, have been advocating a limitation of the veto, such a plan well suits the Locofocos also, who would have put it into effect, indeed, if they themselves had not held the executive power.

In Wisconsin the new constitution has been accepted by a large majority; all that remains to be done is to have it approved by Congress, and this is largely a matter of form. A number of Norwegians in Milwaukee have resolved that they do not need the money people in Norway were collecting for their churches and schools; they recommend that the money be spent for such purposes in Norway, and they are reporting this decision to the Norwegian Church Department.⁵ Presumably personal sensitiveness has influenced them to make this decision which otherwise seems strange enough in a district where other denominations, at any rate, cheerfully and gratefully accept help from the East or from Europe. It cannot be denied that the Norwegians, at any rate in Luther Valley and in Chicago, have received help from the Americans for their church work; the same is probably true at other places also. Their ideas as to what is "sufficient" must be rather peculiar, indeed, if they think that their church and school work so far merit such a designation. I have heard that Pastor Dietrichson has again been exposed to personal attack in his own home, but that he obtained the protection of the law this time.

⁵ These resolutions, signed by O. Hansen and B. A. Frøiseth, were published in *Nordlyset*, March 30, 1848.

XXII

FROM THE PAGES OF A NORWEGIAN- AMERICAN NEWSPAPER

NEW YORK

Nordlyset from Wisconsin indicates that the Norwegians there are learning American methods of advertising.

Notice, for example, the following:

If you care about your health at all, go to H. M. Hansen's Norwegian Drug-Store in Kilbourntown, Milwaukee, at the sign of the red mortar, near the upper bridge. You will find an assortment of the following medicines, prepared by the best doctors in the United States and Germany: fever and ague medicines, guaranteed cure; colic medicine—

and so on. This is followed by:

N. B. My medicines haven't that fine property of curing all sorts of diseases at once, but I can truthfully say that they will satisfy every reasonable demand. I don't intend to sell today and run away tomorrow with the money. I want to earn my bread by conscientiously discharging all the duties of my calling. Come everyone who has faith in wholesome medicines and who prefers good health to sickness and misery. At the same time I want to thank all those who hitherto have honored me with a visit. Respectfully yours, H. M. Hansen.

In the same issue are five other advertisements of American drug-stores, some of which sell other articles besides. Here is one of them:

"Hey, Ole! Watch my oxen awhile, will you, while I go in to Morgans? They say he has the best coffee in the country and my old woman she said I had to buy a few pounds before it was all gone."—"Yes, Niels, how-do-you-do? Yes, I have some excellent coffee—and a lot of other things besides—poor-man's pills, excellent for constipation, cost just a shilling; syrup of hoarhound, a sure cure for colds; mercury; magnesia; camphor—"

and so on, after which we continue—

“and many other things which I'd like to tell you about if it weren't for poor Ole waiting for you outside. Tell your wife she, too, must come down and visit *Morgan at Waterford*.”

Among the merchants advertising in the paper we find a Frøiseth in Milwaukee; among the artisans, a painter, Samuel Gabrielsen, likewise in Milwaukee, and a tailor, Lars Bryn in Chicago; among the physicians, Johan Chr. Dass, *doctor medicinæ* from Norway, who says he is located at Koshkonong.¹ A Doctor Duck in Chicago publishes a recommendation signed by a few Norwegians, namely Wethe, Gjermæ, Flage, and Aanundsen. Under “real estate for sale” we find two farms to be auctioned off, at the decision of the probate court, as part of the estate of two deceased, Colben Davidsen and Thorsten Reiersen, both from Norway; the administrator for the latter is Ole Nielsen Loner. Three lawyers advertise in the paper. All this is taken from only one issue, No. 17, which appeared on November 26. It seems to indicate that there is already plenty of activity and competition up there. Just one glance at a few columns of such advertisements is probably sufficient to dispel the notion that Wisconsin is still a lonely wilderness far out there in the West. In another issue of the paper there is a notice to the effect that Mr. Fribert's property at Pine Lake is for sale. It is said that he found farming too strenuous and has

¹ Johan Christian Dass (Dundas) was born in 1812. After studying medicine in Christiania and Copenhagen, and in Germany, Sweden, Finland, and Switzerland, he was employed on a Dutch man-of-war sailing to Java, where he remained as a practicing physician about three years. He then went as a ship's physician on an immigrant ship to America and was established at Koshkonong by 1847, when the notice in *Nordlyset* appeared. He remained in Koshkonong the rest of his life, with the exception of a two years' trip to China and Japan. He died in 1883. Knut Gjerset and Ludvig Hektoen, “Health Conditions and the Practice of Medicine among the Early Norwegian Settlers, 1825-1865,” in Norwegian-American Historical Association, *Studies and Records*, 1:43-46 (Minneapolis, 1926).

decided to give it up. He has had employment at an office in Watertown and now he is planning to start a bookstore, probably in Milwaukee.

The first impulse to the starting of *Nordlyset* seems to have been given in 1846 when a number of meetings were held in which Ole Olsen Middelpoint suggested the publication of such a paper. At a meeting held on December 8 at the home of Endre Osmundsen, a sort of constitution was drawn up for the proposed paper, and Gudmund Haugaas² was elected president, and Ole Olsen secretary. The first paragraph of the constitution sounds rather peculiar, but the meaning is clear enough:

Article 1. To consider the establishment of a Danish press. The vote was unanimous in favor of having a Danish paper to be printed in Chicago.

Article 2. The majority favored the title, "De Norskes Opmærksomhed,"³ and the motto, "Liberty and Equality," without regard to rank or nationality. The paper shall in every respect befriend and, so far as possible, assist the oppressed.

Article 3. Its contents shall be, first and foremost, information as to religious affairs both in this country and abroad; next in importance, political affairs, such as the constitution and laws of the United States, scientific progress, and such other daily occurrences as will help to instruct and edify the reader, and promote his welfare and happiness, for time and for eternity.

These three articles are, to my mind, very characteristic, and they plainly reveal the fact that the mass of the people have for some time felt the need of such a paper. It is not

² Gudmund Haugaas came to America on the sloop "Restaurationen" in 1825, and settled in Kendall County, New York. He was one of the first settlers in Illinois, coming to La Salle County in 1834, and one of the first Norwegians in America to practice medicine. In Illinois he became a leader in the Mormon church with the title of "Highpriest of the Order of Melchizedec in the Church of the Latter Day Saints." He died of cholera on his farm near Ottawa, Illinois, on July 28, 1849. Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 105-106; Gjerset and Hektoen, in Norwegian-American Historical Association, *Studies and Records*, 1: 39.

³ That is, "The Norwegians' Attention," or "The Norwegian Observer."

a mere haphazard enterprise. The fact that the press is spoken of as "Danish" must not be taken to mean that the Danes were responsible for the plan, or even had any considerable share in it, but rather as evidence of the extent to which Norwegians, as a result of the long union with Denmark, have become accustomed to speaking of the written language as "Danish." We nationalists will have to admit that. The proposed name "De Norskes Opmærksomhed" as well as the names of the leaders in the enterprise clearly indicates that it was Norwegian through and through. The name was changed to "Nordlyset" because this name, to use the words of the editor, "was proposed and recommended by a number of very intelligent men."

Nordlyset's attitude towards Europe seems to appear in the following paragraph, reprinted from *Vikingen*:

In America liberty advances as proudly and deliberately as its gigantic rivers. In Europe one hears cries of "Hurrah for liberty!" but it does not make itself felt in actual life. With the exception of the Hanseatic cities and the shattered League, and perhaps our own country, absolute despots or kings are everywhere in power, and their only constitution is a fear of some outburst of the popular will. Just let them sit on their thrones, wearing their robes of sable, and oppressing mankind! Here in America at any rate, there is neither king nor tyrant!

Last summer *Nordlyset* wrote a little about the danger of an attack on Norway by Russia. If I remember correctly it was stated that the Czar would not permit the coronation of our king unless he were given a couple of harbors on the North Sea. It must be said that the paper as a general rule shows a very commendable attitude towards the mother country. Here is a little paragraph from a letter from Norway to friends and relatives in Wisconsin, recently printed in the paper:

Thank God! We still have the pure, unadulterated religion in our country, and excellent educational facilities, all under the guidance of our kind, peace-loving king, Oscar I. His old father, Carl Johan, died a year ago. When King Oscar ascended the throne he

promised that he would "follow in his father's foot-steps," and so far he has truly kept his promise; he has shown the greatest zeal for the welfare of both kingdoms.

This letter, which is full of religious admonition and encouragement, was written at the farm Rui, October 1, 1846, and is signed by Kittil Olsen Rui, Thor Olsen, Hans Qværdalen, and others.

Among the Norwegians in Illinois, particularly in Chicago, a great disturbance seems to have been caused by a certain Mr. Smith who came there and tried to become their pastor.⁴ He succeeded in gathering some sixty or seventy of the five hundred Norwegians in Chicago about him and he obtained contributions from them as well as from a number of Americans for building a church. Four trustees were chosen, namely: Anders Larsen, Anders Skjælden, Anders Baarson, and Knud Gustenson. Everything went well, apparently, and services were conducted in a German church. But soon there arose complaint because of the manner in which the pastor had imposed his own selfish interests upon the new church; it was specified in the constitution that he should be pastor for life. Only those who signed this document might become members and occupy pews in the church. It was the old story of people signing a document without taking time to read it through first, and now they complain that the constitution is "severe and contrary to the good, democratic principle that all power belongs to the people."

To be sure, it may well be argued that people who are foolish enough to sign something without understanding its meaning, had better not be too concerned about this "democratic principle." However that may be, Mr. Smith's position has become rather difficult. The most scathing accusations have been brought against his character and his earlier career, and his own efforts at peace have been rejected with

⁴ See *ante*, p. 56, n. 1.

scorn. "I advise you, my countrymen," exclaims an energetic writer in *Nordlyset*, "to beware of this man as though he were the very devil himself!" It is affirmed that every single accusation against him can be proved. The same man figured in the earlier history of the Norwegian settlements in Wisconsin, where he functioned both as a preacher and as a doctor—yes, even as a midwife, if we are to believe the report in *Nordlyset*. But he did not have much luck. After Clausen had invalidated his ministerial capacity by explaining to the people that he was a Baptist—and he soon afterwards lost his reputation as a doctor—he went to New Orleans and thence to New York, where he again started to preach and was actually ordained as a Lutheran pastor. He did not succeed in organizing a congregation, however, and so he went west once more, in order to further the cause of the Gospel—or at any rate to further his own cause in Chicago. Before I left Wisconsin I had heard about his ordination, which people there lamented very much; by this time they probably are not the only ones who regret that Smith has become a Lutheran pastor.

Among the many other doubtful points in regard to the man is his nationality. He claims that he is Norwegian, but others insist that he is Swedish. I remember that when I happened to meet him here in New York last summer and he told me he was from Trondhjem, I wondered at his Swedish pronunciation. I mentioned the matter to him in all innocence and also told him that I knew two families in Trondhjem but did not think he belonged to either of them. It did not occur to me at that time to doubt his word.

Even if Smith does not seem to be the right man to serve as pastor for the Norwegians in northeastern Illinois, we must give him credit for the fact that still another church is being erected by our countrymen in the distant West. There are now *five* Norwegian-Lutheran churches—two at Koshkonong, one at Muskego, one at Luther Valley, and

one in Chicago. This seems to speak well for the religious attitude of our people. It is surely a very expensive affair for people who still have very limited means to establish and maintain a church, no matter how simple it may be. And yet we see large numbers of our countrymen—with no help from mission societies, such as is so often extended in other denominations—make provision for the worship of God in their own way long before immigrants of other nationalities do. Even those who do not settle with the mass of their countrymen do not as a rule, or for any length of time, remain indifferent to religion, but as soon as there is an opportunity they take part in religious services of some kind—Haugean, Episcopal, Methodist, Mormon, or whatever they may be.

This religious zeal of theirs is well worth our attention, not only for its own sake but also because it augurs well for the future of our people in Norway, and it will be an important consideration if the question of separating church and state is taken up seriously. This question is almost sure to come up sooner or later, even if the time is not ripe for it just now. For this is the tendency everywhere in the civilized world, and our country will have to follow it, even if it does quite often try to swim against the current. (I am thinking particularly of the proposal to pay the clergy a fixed salary and of the rather peculiar notion, which some actually regard as a proof of liberal ideals, of appointing a Lutheran clergyman as assistant secretary in the Church and School Department.⁵) The Toleration Act was a step in the right direction, and more liberal movements have arisen within the Lutheran church itself. The brutal laws against the Jews will soon be abandoned, let us hope, and then the remnants of the old bigotry will disappear from Paragraph 92 of the constitution. And then finally the main

⁵ *Kirke-og Undervisnings-Departementet.*

citadel in Paragraph 2 will stand ready to fall.⁶ Thus the solemn question will arise if it might not be well to take away from the Lutheran church the special protection it now enjoys and thus free it from the restraint from which it has so long suffered and give it the same freedom as other denominations now enjoy. When such questions arise, it will be quite fitting to point to our brethren in America, who built their churches even before they cleared the land sufficiently to provide the very necessities of life. Can there be any danger that a people whose religious zeal impels them to establish their church even when they have to start everything from the very beginning should fail in their native land to provide the relatively inconsiderable amount required to keep up a church organization which is already equipped with churches, parsonages, and plenty of other property? Such a failure seems out of the question in view of what has taken place in America.

It cannot be denied that in the East the system of free churches works well. It is expensive, because of the large

⁶ The Toleration Act, a law of July 27, 1842, repealed the ordinance of 1741, which restricted religious liberty by forbidding laymen to preach the gospel. See Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, 2:405.

Paragraph 39 of the constitution of 1814 specified that the king on the advice of his cabinet should appoint all ecclesiastical, civil, and military officials. "To offices in the state shall be appointed only Norwegian citizens who adhere to the Evangelical-Lutheran religion," and so forth. This provision later became Paragraph 92, and was eventually changed to read: "Only those who adhere to the official religion of the state may be members of the king's council. As regards other officials of the state special provisions shall be enacted by law."

Paragraph 2 of the constitution specified that "The Evangelical Lutheran religion shall continue to be the official religion of the state; [all Christian denominations are given full liberty of worship] but Jews and Jesuits are still to be excluded from the kingdom. Monastic orders are not to be allowed. Citizens who adhere to the state religion are obliged to educate their children in the same." The clause in brackets was for some unknown reason dropped from the constitution as it was finally published, although it had been adopted by the Eidsvold Assembly on the Seventeenth of May, 1814, along with the rest of the constitution. Seierstad, *Kyrkjelegt Reformarbeid*, 1:31-60.

number of sects, and yet Christians of every faith manage to find sufficient means not only to carry on their own work but to support missionary activity as well, both in the western part of their own country and in foreign lands. Were it not for this support, the various denominations, such as the Episcopalians and the Methodists, very likely would not have made so much progress in the West as the Lutherans have done. I have read a few reports from missionaries who complain of the general carelessness and ungodliness in the settlements. Thus we see that the Norwegians, living under the same conditions as the Americans, favorable or otherwise, and given the same religious freedom, do not by any means fall behind in their zeal to give what is needed for their church work. Just to give you some idea of the expenses connected with church work in the East I will mention the fact that one must often pay up to six or even eight hundred dollars for an ordinary pew in a church; this sum is used towards paying for the building of the church and the parsonage. In addition, each member pays in dues about five per cent of this sum for the preacher's salary and other running expenses, a collection is taken up every Sunday, and weddings and such other extra activities are also paid for. This has reference particularly to the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, who pay their preachers well—in the cities at least, from \$1,000 to \$5,000 a year. The Catholics, Methodists, Baptists, and Quakers are poorer denominations, and consequently pay less.

XXIII

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE IN NORWAY

NEW YORK

Let me repeat that I do not believe the time is yet ripe for such radical changes in Norway. Far from it. When great and noble reforms are involved, such as concern not only an individual people but the progress of humanity as a whole, we are particularly slow to act and not without reason. We are frightened at the thought of being among the first to put into practice new principles that open up new courses for the stream of civilization. We are keenly aware of our own smallness, and even if we are able to grasp the larger view of ourselves as a part of the huge mass of people, everywhere striving for new ideas of liberty and humanity, the only result is that we become even more conscious of what a humble place we occupy in our little corner, far removed from the center of activity. There we sit and prefer merely to receive the results rather than to take an active part in the great intellectual and moral struggle that produces them. So be it. No country in Europe has yet adopted the plan of separating church and state, and it is only in England, Scotland, and Ireland that important and interesting movements in this direction have made their influence felt.

But let us at any rate view these movements with the attention they so fully deserve, and let us in the meantime at least do away with such laws and ordinances as are in themselves absolutely unjust and have long since been discarded not only by America but by the more civilized countries in Europe—everywhere, indeed, where the will of the

people counts for anything at all, except in Norway and, to some extent, in Switzerland. The Jew is a citizen in the United States, England, France, Belgium, and Holland; in these countries competent men are put into office, regardless of religious creed. Even in some of the German states a somewhat liberal attitude is shown and much progress is being made in this respect. We are still so far behind the times that we have twice rejected a motion even to admit the Jews to the country, and as far as giving offices to non-Lutherans, we are only so far advanced that a motion to that effect will come before our parliament this year, where it will presumably be rejected, as is generally done when such matters come up for the first time. Very well, let them reject it as often as they please; after they have thought it over for some ten or twenty years, they will probably find it ripe for acceptance.

Are there really any prospects of withdrawing the restrictions on the Jews this year? At the last session of the Storting many voted against the measure because they did not know the precise status the Jews were to have if they were admitted. They were afraid they might be mistreated, and for their protection these conscientious people wanted to have a separate law as to their rights and privileges before voting for their admittance. For some this was probably the true reason; for others it was most likely a mere pretext, a convenient way of covering their narrow prejudices with the cloak of liberalism. The consciences of the former will be put at ease and the hypocrisy of the latter will be exposed or made harmless if their demand for such additional legislation is met. Has anyone thought of doing that? It will be easy to combine the two measures, much on the order of the "Dissenter law."¹

¹ The law of 1842 had given the laymen within the Lutheran church, specifically the Haugeans, full religious liberty, but there still remained the question as to what should be done in regard to other denominations,

To make the change as acceptable as possible and thus satisfy even the most scrupulous, it might be desirable in the first paragraph of the proposed measure to restrict it to admitting Jews only from those countries in which they enjoy essentially the same political rights as other dissenters from the state church. It would have to be left to some authority, presumably the government, which has ample opportunity to become acquainted with conditions in foreign countries through its legations, to decide from what countries Jews might thus be admitted, and this list would have to be revised as the emancipation of the Jews progressed elsewhere. The only thing a Jew would have to do in order to gain admittance would be to present evidence of the fact that he had lived a certain length of time in one of the countries included in the list. The few additional details necessary in formulating this arrangement beyond what is now in the "Dissenter law" will practically cover the subject both as to the persons to be admitted and as to their rights and privileges. If the measure is thus restricted in its application there will be no danger, as one hears so often, that the whole country will be flooded with a Jewish rabble from Germany, and there will be no chance for any eloquent outbursts to the effect that, as we have had no share in the degradation of the Jews, we are by no means obliged to suffer under the moral laxity into which these people have fallen as the result of the injustice shown them by other nations. Indeed, no matter what one may say against the Jews in certain countries, as a class, everyone will admit that they are good, respectable citizens in countries where no discrimination is shown against them. When such countries

particularly the Catholics in Christiania and the Quakers in Stavanger and elsewhere. They, too, were granted full religious liberty by a law of 1845, commonly known as *Dissenterloven*, which, fittingly enough, opened with the clause which had so peculiarly disappeared from the constitution of 1814: "All Christian denominations are given full liberty of worship." Seierstad, *Kyrkjelegt Reformarbeid*, 1:316-335.

send us Jews, they will not thus force upon us the evil effects of their former injustice, because they have already themselves made amends for it. Even those who are afraid of seeing a large number of Jews come in, no matter how respectable they might be, will be reassured by such a law, because the Jews in the countries which grant them political rights are neither numerous nor particularly anxious to emigrate. It seems to me, therefore, that most of the arguments that have been used in opposing such a change in the constitution are successfully met by this additional provision, which, of course, can be changed later on, when public opinion has become ready for ideas a trifle more liberal than it can accept at present.

In Wisconsin the constitutional project is so far advanced by this time that it is to be referred to a popular vote this spring.² My impression after reading the draft through hastily is that the chief bones of contention in the previous draft have been omitted, particularly the provision as to women's property rights. As far as banks are concerned, the project adopts the provisions found in the Illinois constitution, which was recently accepted by the people at their primary assemblies; the establishment of every new bank must be voted on by the people. Negroes are to have no political rights. Immigrants are to become citizens after living one year in the state, whereas in Illinois all who already were there were given their citizenship, but from now on five years' residence is required, as under the federal laws. Representatives are elected for one year; senators for two. The governor, the lieutenant governor, the secretary of state, the attorney general, the sheriffs, coroners, justices of the peace, and the like, are elected for two years, and the judges of the supreme court for six. No debt

² This statement was obviously written before that which appears at the end of chapter 22. See Historical Introduction, p. xviii.

may be incurred by the state in furtherance of public works. The governor is to be paid a salary of \$1,200 (\$1,500 in Illinois); the judges of the supreme court, \$1,300, and the state superintendent of schools, not more than \$1,200. There was one Norwegian in the assembly that formulated this constitution, namely, Mr. Reymert. It disbanded in January and in the beginning of February the territorial legislature assembled, presumably for the last time, to settle the affairs of the territory and prepare for the change to state government. There was a great battle as to who should print state documents; printers from every political party put in bids, and each member of the legislature was apparently working for some particular printer. The Whigs seem to have won out because the Locofocos here as well as in New York are split into two factions, the old Hunkers and the Barnburners, or Tadpoles, each faction putting up a candidate.³ I have not heard whether any reconciliation has since been effected between the factions.

The *Milwaukee Sentinel* recently published an item about the growth of the city that is well worth repeating. It states that its export of wheat in 1845 was 95,500 bushels; in 1846, 213,448; and in 1847, no less than 698,011. The export of flour was five times as great in 1847 as in 1845. I mentioned last summer that the population of Madison was estimated at 800; the last census sets it at 1,159.

The electric telegraph has reached Chicago by this time.

³ The "Old Hunkers" were the members of the conservative section of the Democratic party in New York about 1850. The "Barnburners" were the members of the radical reform group, which was hostile to the extension of slavery, public debts, corporate privileges, and so on, and which supported Van Buren, the Free Soil candidate for president in 1848. The name "Barnburners" has reference to the fable of the man who burned his barn to rid it of rats. The "Old Hunkers" got their name because they were supposed to hunger or "hunker" for office. A recent study of the Barnburners is Herbert D. A. Donovan, *The Barnburners, a Study of the Internal Movements in the Political History of New York State, 1830-1852* (New York, 1925).

At St. Louis it has already been in operation a month, and there is even some talk of extending it all the way to California. The proposed railroad from Lake Michigan to Oregon is finding more and more champions. Many state legislatures have declared themselves in favor of such a project and I believe the chief hindrance at this moment is the uncertainty of Mexican affairs; many people expect that it will be possible to establish some connection between the Gulf of Mexico and California, controlled by the United States. In any event there can be no doubt that the Yankees will very soon find better connections with their possessions on the west coast than they now have. They are fully aware of the great importance of the western territories, both for their fertility and for the opportunities they offer to America of becoming the middle-man in the important trade between Europe and the Orient, the two richest parts of the earth. California with its splendid harbor, San Francisco, is quite definitely in American hands, whether Mexico cares to give it up or not. Even if the Yankees do have to pay some fifteen million dollars for it, in addition to what the war has cost them, this will only tend to impress them still more with the great value of this land and it will undoubtedly become the object of great investments and speculative enterprise. Immigration in that direction seems to continue as briskly as ever; the Mormons, in particular, are flocking in that direction. About twelve thousand of them spent the winter in the Indian territory west of Missouri, near Council Bluffs, and most of them are starting out this spring. It is said that they suffered great hardships during their winter camp; recently a meeting was held here in New York to raise funds for their assistance. They have now sent an agent down to New Orleans to lead about two thousand English families that they expect there, up to their meeting-place at Council Bluffs. They also have an agent at St. Louis to take charge of the numerous American and Ger-

man immigrants assembled there. The camp at Council Bluffs will probably be made a permanent station and a large group will assemble there every spring preparatory to their departure for the Great Salt Lake in California, where the new Mormon city has been established. A guide-book has been published, describing the journey there in great detail.

XXIV

PAN-SCANDINAVIANISM: A PROPOSED FEDERATION

BOSTON, May 10, 1848

Among other news items from Europe, of which we have received an abundance lately, is one reporting that Holstein and Schleswig have declared their independence of the Danish throne and that Denmark is about to receive a liberal constitution.¹ These are the only definite facts I have managed to extract from the confused, idiotic accounts in the English papers and the even more absurd versions in the American papers. Several times I have come across the rather naïve account that the Danes were hauling cannon

Frederik VII succeeded his father as ruler of Denmark, Schleswig, and Holstein, on January 20, 1848. Eight days later, on the advice of his cabinet, he issued a recommendation for a constitution, designed both to meet the demand for a liberal constitution and to adjust the relationship between Denmark proper and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. In both respects the proposed constitution was a colossal failure, and violent objections were raised, both in Denmark and in the duchies. Representatives of the citizens of Copenhagen wrote a memorial to the king asking him to dismiss the present cabinet and when the memorial was presented to the king at Christiansborg Palace on March 21, thousands of citizens formed a procession to the palace. The king answered that he had anticipated their request and had already dismissed his cabinet. A liberal cabinet was appointed on March 24, and a new constitution in accordance with the wishes of the people received the royal sanction on June 5, 1849. Rebellion broke out in Schleswig-Holstein on March 23, 1848. The Danes won a decisive victory at Bov, on April 9, and the rebellion would soon have been put down had not Prussia sent an army to assist the troops of Schleswig-Holstein. Denmark appealed to England and Russia, the guarantors of the union with Schleswig and Holstein. As the result of diplomatic intervention, the Prussian army was recalled and an armistice effected on July 2. After a renewal of hostilities, peace was made by a treaty of July 2, 1850, turning the duchies back to Denmark. Jørgensen in *Danmarks Riges Historie*, 6: 386-418.

down to the Sound in order to stop a Russian fleet on its way to Naples; at the same time it is stated that Denmark is looking to Russia for protection against the attacks of the long-bearded Germans. We are also told that the liberals have gained the upper hand in Copenhagen and that the king, after being on the verge of abdication, has appointed a bourgeois cabinet. Is it possible that the Danes, who were always terrified—and not without reason—when ever a Russian fleet passed, and did not breathe easily until it had got beyond Kronborg, now actually shoot at one with the rather far-fetched notion of assisting the Sicilians or the Neapolitans in their struggles against Messina or St. Elmo? On the other hand, is it possible that Denmark will use Russian bayonets as arguments against its rebellious subjects? And how in the world could the good, loyal Danes get such an insane notion into their heads as to depose their good old Oldenburgian royal family? This is the most improbable and impossible of all. If the king was actually thinking of resigning he must have had other reasons than necessity; perhaps he has found the throne that he so recently ascended rather distasteful to a man of his plain, democratic tendencies, and it is not difficult to imagine that the Schleswig-Holstein disturbance, together with the agitation in Copenhagen, has made the Danish throne a rather uncomfortable place. This fact, if such it be, leads us to draw the conclusion—in the absence of any information, of course—that His Majesty King Frederik VII does not care much for the royal power and dignity, but would gladly retire to private life if the welfare of his country permitted such a step or even made it desirable.

As I had read this news I was about to start on a trip by steamboat some thirty miles up the glorious Hudson River from New York to Sing Sing, the capitol and residential section for New York's criminals; Sing Sing scarcely merits such a name, however, for the buildings are made of marble

and look more like palaces than prisons. The weather was beautiful and as we glided along the picturesque banks with their green meadows and white houses I was reminded of a similar trip along the coast of Zealand. Long before we had reached our destination I had arrived, in my memories, at the proud royal city of Denmark and I saw His Majesty in my mind's eye, as he appeared on the solemn occasion of Thorwaldsen's funeral.² Could not his sound, philosophical attitude as to the crown be used in the furtherance of some good cause? Could it not, for example, have some bearing on the Pan-Scandinavian movement? Is not the time now ripe for some serious action in this matter? My imagination thus found something to occupy the time and I worked out a very neat plan for a Scandinavian Union based on the principles of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." You can readily imagine that such an idle hour might easily give rise to a few somewhat revolutionary ideas. But what of that? Such ideas are not uncommon nowadays, and a man who plots the overthrow of a government or two without so much as expelling a cat is surely very conservative.

You may recall that ever since Christian VIII issued his letters patent on the order of succession, which seemed to win the undivided approval of the Danish people, I have been inclined to believe that the Danes had largely abandoned the Pan-Scandinavian idea in its practical and political aspects, or had at any rate laid it aside; there was no longer talk of definite, clear plans for something that might actually be put into practice.³ Under such circumstances, it was easy enough to see that Norway and Sweden could not with good sense enter any sort of political union with a country

² Bertel Thorwaldsen, the famous Danish sculptor, died in 1844.

³ The letters patent of July 8, 1846, stated that the order of succession in Denmark, Schleswig, and Lauenburg was identical; the king reserved judgment in the more doubtful case of Holstein, but he would continue his efforts to keep his realm intact. Jørgensen in *Danmarks Riges Historie*, 6: 347-350.

which was at the same time a member of another political body. It was also plain that as long as Denmark persisted in retaining possession of Holstein, there was no possibility of its giving up its own royal line in favor of the Norwegian-Swedish royalty, because Holstein was united with Denmark solely through the House of Oldenburg. Even under such circumstances, Norway and Sweden could do much to prepare the way for a future union, not only by working for a more friendly relationship with our Danish brethren,—through all sorts of coöperation along intellectual and cultural lines, and so forth,—but also by developing and improving the union already existing between themselves, which, indeed, is so slender that it scarcely merits the name of union. If we could substitute real bonds of unity for those that now with difficulty hold the two countries together and are so brittle and inelastic that they would burst if a third country were to be included, we should create pleasant prospects for the future,—in case Denmark also joined us in spite of its fondness for Holstein. We should thus have a well equipped house ready to receive Mr. Dane.

I believe we have not made much progress so far with our share of the matter. Destiny, on the other hand, has progressed all the more rapidly. Denmark is about to lose Holstein for good, and will thus emerge from the rather peculiar position it has so far occupied, with its eyes looking towards the north and its hands stretching towards the south. Its interests will now become wholly Scandinavian, and such a country ought to be given a hearty welcome by the two Scandinavian countries that are already united. Denmark is a rich country and has an intelligent, moral, industrious, enterprising populace; if Sweden and Norway reject its proposals for a closer union, they will merely reveal their own cowardly narrow-mindedness and will impair their own interests and assume a serious responsibility towards posterity.

I assume, of course, that some constitution would have to be framed for such a union, to assure the benefits of the combined strength of the three states whenever their safety or honor among other nations might be at stake. There would also have to be some common legislation, to provide for such affairs as could best be handled by joint action. I refer to such matters as the army and navy, commerce and navigation (including the management of light-houses and harbors), the negotiation of treaties and the administration of all foreign affairs, the postal department, coinage, and weights and measures. All such matters would have to be left to some central power, which naturally would have to be authorized to raise money in order to carry on its activities, either by direct or indirect taxation or through loans. Perhaps the right to issue bonds ought to be limited to some extent, however, save in case of war; and also the right to establish tariffs. Naturally this central power would need sub-organizations through which to carry on its work, and, to be assured of the right kind of functionaries, it should be allowed to appoint them itself. The experience of all times proves that a central government is powerless and useless if it has to work through the authority of the individual states. If it is to be of any worth, it must influence its citizens directly through officers and functionaries appointed by itself, and the citizens in turn must to a large extent exert their influence upon its organization directly.

According to this principle, the personnel of the central government, the secretaries of the army and navy, and of foreign affairs, and the like, as well as the officers of the army and navy, the functionaries in the postal and the tariff departments, and so forth, would have to be chosen by the central power. If it were found desirable to appoint only Norwegians in Norway, Swedes in Sweden, and so on, a clause to that effect could quite easily be included in the

constitution, but it could hardly apply to the government bureaus themselves. The best arrangement would be that citizens of any of the united states should be appointed by the government for positions anywhere in the union, and that the naturalization of foreigners should be under the central government. It is even a question if all citizens of the individual states as well as naturalized citizens of the union ought not to enjoy full political rights wherever they settled with intent to stay. In that case, the right of each individual state to naturalize citizens could cease altogether; it is scarcely advisable to go as far as that now, however, and so it is best to exclude naturalized citizens from the privileges of citizenship in the union, to which all citizens of the individual states are entitled.

Perhaps some other general legislation ought to be entrusted to the central government. This would apply to matters having to do with commerce and trade—for example, the credit system, especially as regards bills of exchange and bankruptcy. I shall say nothing of legislation about inheritance, real estate, or legal procedure for fear of alarming some people, but I really cannot see that there would be any harm in having general legislation on such matters. Possibly it would be difficult, however, to distinguish between what was general and what pertained specifically to one state. One solution would be that the constitution itself should lay down the main principles in this respect in order to assure a sound basis for the social structure and a harmonious development in the various states. Fugitives from justice in one state ought to be delivered on demand if found in one of the other states. The verdicts and official documents of one state ought to be respected in the others. As to trade relations between the states, such matters as are not left to the central government will have to be dealt with in the constitution. Perhaps some provision ought to be included as to compensation from one state to another for

the support of its poor. There will have to be something about the union flag, and the like.

The question as to nobility, although it directly concerns the individual states, indirectly has a more general bearing. Previous experience causes one to fear that a noble class possessing privileges and holding to certain loyalties or to tradition in one country might also gain the upper hand in affairs of the union, and from this point of view it would probably be advisable to do away with it in all three countries. This also holds true of certain titles of rank, but probably Denmark will herself do away with all such nonsense before the union is formed.

There would have to be some provision concerning the religious creed of the king so long as any of the states still demands some particular creed as a condition for royal succession. It would be best, however, if the constitution could definitely do away with this restriction for all three states.

The constitution ought further to provide that the executive head of the union, the king, should also be at the head of the individual state governments. The number of states is so small that the king can easily take charge of all this and we shall thus have a strong bond of unity such as is to be found in no other federation of states.

The seat of the central government must not be Stockholm or Copenhagen. Christiania, as Colonel Tidemand has already suggested, would be better, but objections are apt to arise none the less. It would be best of all to locate it at some place that can be put under its own control and legislation, where it will be as independent as possible of the influence of one particular state or of the people in the immediate vicinity. The government of the state in which it is located must give way, at that particular place, to its ordinances, just as a civil law must give way before a constitutional provision, when the two come into conflict.

The name of the union must be "The United Scandinavian States," "The Scandinavian Union," or something on that order. Care must be taken, in choosing the name, that one country does not appear to take precedence over either of the other two.

Parallel with the customs department of the union there will be separate customs departments in each of the states, as they can scarcely be expected to give up this source of income. Their difference in industrial development makes it scarcely advisable for them even to cancel all protective tariffs among themselves. In Norway, for example, it would be most detrimental to agriculture and to the industry that is just in its infancy, if the products of the other two countries were given free entry; this would deprive the treasury, both of the state and of the union, of an important source of income. It cannot be denied that this double system of customs would entail some difficulties, but they will be greatly lessened if both systems employ the same force of customs officers, and each of the states—or the union—would be privileged at any time to drop its customs department. Furthermore the period of taxation must be definitely fixed, both for the union and for the states, lest the merchants be hampered by the possibility of sudden changes in duties.

The union customs would have to be the same for all parts of the union, with the exception of Finmark and Lapland. They must be based on trade with foreign countries, not on that between states. I have already suggested that a certain maximum ought to be set beyond which the customs could not rise, somewhat as is done now in certain cities in Norway where an extra duty is collected for the upkeep of the harbor. The union customs should not be adjusted in proportion to the state customs, but rather vice versa, lest the state set its customs as high as it please without any interference on the part of the union. This applies

particularly to the customs on trade between the states. And yet the ratio of state to union customs must not be absolutely rigid; each state should be allowed to set its own customs independently of the union. But certain limits would have to be established in the form of a certain maximum percentage. It would have to be decided whether or not the union might levy customs for protection as well as for revenue; if both forms of tariff were permitted, we should avoid a source of great trouble, because it is often very difficult to decide just which motive prompts some particular customs duty, and often both reasons are involved; likewise the union will thus be able to protect and foster certain industries in all three nations and thus gradually make their own tariff superfluous and eventually produce greater unity. On the other hand we must not overlook the serious difficulties that might arise if the union and the states crossed one another in such a matter. The efforts of the union might easily be neutralized by those of the states and vice versa. At any rate the question would have to be settled in the constitution. In America the question as to whether the right of Congress to impose tariff was to include the protective tariff has resulted in more strife than any other question. In 1831 the union was within a hair's breadth of being dissolved, as South Carolina declared itself in favor of the "nullification" of the Congressional tariff. It is interesting to note that some of the most important arguments have centered about the meaning of the word "taxation," both in America and in Norway, although under entirely different circumstances.

In case of conflicts between the union and one of the states, or among the states themselves, jurisdiction would have to be given to union courts, and this ought to cover all sorts of cases against ambassadors and consuls; perhaps also cases between citizens of different states and between one of the states or its citizens and some foreign

state or its citizens; cases pertaining to navigation, prizes, and so on, no matter who the parties are; and, finally, all cases involving interpretations of the constitution, laws, or treaties of the union, with the one exception that special courts ought to be established by the union for military offenses. There ought to be a supreme court and three subordinate courts; the judges should be appointed by the central government for life. The jurisdiction of the union would not necessarily be limited to these courts, at least not in all cases, but the verdicts of the supreme court would have to be taken as final in all the types of cases here mentioned, even if they had first been tried before a state court.

The central government, which we have mentioned so often, ought to be organized on principles similar to those in a constitutional monarchy. The king would be in charge of the executive power, to be exercised through a responsible cabinet; he should also have the prerogative of pardon and a suspensive veto. The impeachment of the king's counselors on union affairs would have to be brought before a court provided for that purpose. The right to impeach would rest with the lower house in each of the states or their representatives in the lower house of the union, in so far as some abuse on the part of the central government of the rights of one of the states was involved. The court of impeachment should be the upper house of the union parliament, or the supreme court, or both. I should prefer to have the supreme court try such cases; its members would be chosen by the central government, possibly with the approval of the upper house. If one of the other two methods is adopted, the verdict must not go beyond removal from office, and the matter must be brought before one of the regular courts in case further punishment is in order. The king's prerogative of pardon in such cases should be confined to exemption from the death penalty, if, indeed, any

court should be allowed to pronounce such a sentence in the cases here under consideration.

The power to enact laws, appropriate money, and levy taxes should be left with the representatives of the people, divided into two houses. The members of the upper house might either be elected by the whole assembly, in accordance with the special arrangement in force in Norway, or by the people in each state, as the members of the lower house would be, or they might be elected by the state legislatures. We shall not devote any further attention to this problem here. In the last two cases, perhaps also in the first, it would be well to give the members of the upper house a somewhat longer term of office than the others. The elections in each of the states ought to be in the hands of the same voters who elect representatives to the state legislatures. The question as to the number of representatives from each state will be of the greatest importance. It would suit us Norwegians, as well as the Danes, if each state sent the same number to both houses, but if Sweden should insist that membership in one of the houses should be on the basis of population, we could scarcely object to such an arrangement as unfair. Such is the case here in America, where membership in the House of Representatives is in proportion to the population, whereas each state sends two members to the Senate. New York, with a population of almost three million, sends thirty-two representatives to the House, and Delaware, with a population of only eighty-five thousand, sends only one, but each sends two senators. The smaller state is thus protected against the injustice to which it might otherwise be exposed as the result of such an overwhelming majority, and this protection is the more certain because the smaller states are likely to stand together when one of them is threatened. In America there has actually been no oppression as the result of the difference in the number of representatives from each

state; on the contrary, it has happened that a single state, or a group of two or three of them, has simply declared that it is ready to sever its connection with the rest of them, and they, in spite of their greater power, have humbled themselves in order to reconcile their stubborn fellow-citizens. Just at present a number of the southern states have threatened to secede on account of the so-called Wilmot Proviso. In the Scandinavian union the disproportion will be far less and there will be no reason to fear any injustice, as long as the weaker nation is not absolutely negligent of its own rights.

XXV

PAN-SCANDINAVIANISM: THE KING'S POSITION

BOSTON, May 10, 1848

If the king is given the right of absolute veto, we shall have to introduce the so-called parliamentary form of government, according to which the cabinet — and the executive power—is dependent on the majority in parliament or at any rate in one house, and must resign whenever that majority changes. Such a system leads to party remuneration, party corruption, and arbitrariness, and is fraught with danger to the crown itself, if we are to interpret the constitution literally, because it gives the crown greater power than is advisable for it to use and thus offers a temptation which may ensnare a foolish or reckless monarch to the detriment of the people's liberty or to his own destruction. But as long as he leaves the veto strictly alone and leaves the government in the hands of the cabinet which parliament rather than he himself has created, the throne is safer from popular uprising or other danger than under the system in Norway, the like of which is to be found in no other monarchy but only in republics such as America; the veto is regarded as an essential cog in the constitutional machinery, intended as a sort of regulator of democratic manifestations. Under such a system the whole machinery suffers from too much friction and is in all the more danger of falling to pieces since the old myth about the divine right of kings under such circumstances loses its significance because criticism, even if aimed formally at the cabinet, in reality hits the king also. In the meantime this system has

worked well in our country, while the other plan, where it has been tried, has generally resulted in demoralization and all sorts of public disasters; more often than not it has collapsed entirely. It must also be mentioned that a parliamentary form of government in the Scandinavian union would scarcely fit in with the system of representation in the lower house in proportion to the population of the states. It is in the lower house that the fate of the cabinet would rest, and it would thus wield an influence which could scarcely be regarded without anxiety by the two smaller states, as at least half of its members will be from one single state. If the Norwegian or the American system were adopted, there would be some reason for giving the executive power the right, together with the upper house, of negotiating treaties.

Though this arrangement might seem to be a limitation of the authority that now properly belongs to the king, it is scarcely that. The right to make treaties, which now belongs to him according to the constitution, is rather a hollow provision and largely a matter of form, because the king cannot make treaties concerning affairs with which he has otherwise nothing to do. He cannot make a treaty that violates any of the laws or that would encroach upon the financial or other powers vested in the parliament. The sum of the matter is that he promises to bring a case before the legislative assembly, unless he has specific authorization by special laws, such as the tariff and the criminal laws. A similar state of affairs prevails in other countries also. There is great uncertainty on this point, because the constitutional principles have not been applied consistently to foreign relations. After the second French revolution [in 1830], when France agreed by treaty to pay the United States a few million dollars, the Chamber of Deputies refused to appropriate the money, until General Jackson grew belligerent and threatened war — and indeed he probably would

have carried out his threat if the chamber had not hastened the next year to make the requisite appropriations. Even in America the difficulty is not fully settled, although the system by which the Senate together with the president ratifies treaties has led to a general recognition of the principle that the authority of the executive in such matters extends somewhat beyond its regular field and that a ratified treaty is to be regarded as just as binding as the constitution itself. If, for example, the Mexican Congress ratifies the treaty of peace which is now about concluded, the House of Representatives will feel obliged to appropriate the millions which the United States will have to pay according to the decision of the president and the Senate.

What has been said about the negotiation of treaties will also apply to the right to declare war or make peace, which ought to be left largely in the hands of the upper house. Under the parliamentary system, of course, such provisions are not necessary.

You will have noticed that the constitution that I have sketched here, all too hurriedly to be sure, is closely modeled on the American constitution, under whose beneficial influence a powerful, happy nation has developed in these sixty years out of a group of weak, disunited, despised little republics. This example ought to appeal to us in our present state of political impotency, which to a large extent is occasioned by the same flaws that caused the enlightened American patriots to substitute their present constitution for the Articles of Confederation. Our chief difficulty at present is the lack of some central government with sufficient authority to look after the common welfare of the two kingdoms.

In selecting the American constitution as our model we not only have an opportunity of reaping the benefits of the light shed upon political science by America's eminent statesmen during the close of the last century, but also of learning

from the experience that has been gained since that time about the practical workings of such a system. The party struggles that have taken place during this period, in which the number of states has grown from thirteen to thirty, have naturally raised a number of questions that were not at first anticipated, and every weak point in the structure is now so obvious that people in other lands who want to arrange their affairs similarly, can take the necessary precautions. The line between the authority of the federal and the state governments and between the jurisdiction of their respective courts, is not always drawn with sufficient clearness to avoid conflicts on this point. Such matters have largely been adjusted by means of court decisions, however, and even where such is not the case, there is such an abundance of material in the various arguments that have arisen, that it is not hard to discover the sources of trouble and to determine what a legislator, building the whole structure from the foundation up, can do to avoid them. The conflicts have often been of such a nature that the passions of the most violent and uncultivated mobs have been deeply stirred, and the most conflicting material interests have clashed, and yet the political fabric, in spite of its complicated structure, has weathered every storm without a single revolution in any of the states, without a single civil war, or without the loss of a single life because of political offenses. I do not class the trouble in Rhode Island a few years ago, or the present disturbance in Ohio, as a revolution;¹ on the contrary these troubles demonstrate quite conclusively that the Americans do not have much knack at revolutions in true European style,—any more than do we Norwegians.

And now the structure rears itself more proudly than

¹ The first reference is undoubtedly to the Dorr rebellion in Rhode Island in 1842. A. M. Mowry, *The Dorr War, or the Constitutional Struggle in Rhode Island* (Providence, 1901).

ever. Foreigners by the hundreds of thousands flock hither every year and find happy homes in America; its flag is respected on every sea; its missionaries in the cause of religion and freedom penetrate to every corner of the earth, and its genius makes contributions in every field and with never ceasing energy towards the progress of the human race. In many respects it has become a model state for Europe. Why should not something similar, although on a much more modest scale, result from such a union in northern Europe, which, in addition to the advantages gained as the result of America's experience, has a number of other circumstances favorable for such an enterprise which the colonies did not possess when they framed their constitution? The number of our states will be only three, and our body politic can never grow, at any rate not considerably. The whole affair will not be so complicated, nor will the interests be so many and so diverse as in America. We have a monarchic form of government, which guarantees greater stability than any republican executive government can do; the very presence of a king excludes a good deal of the strife and the political intrigues of a republic. The advantage is even more obvious when we recall that in the union such as I have outlined it the king would govern not only the union as such but the individual states as well, and their most important affairs would thus in a sense be subject to control by the union. Last but not least, we do not have the unfortunate slavery question, which casts the seeds of discord into every council and a dark shadow over the whole republic. To counterbalance our advantages in these respects, one might call attention to the danger that would at all times threaten our peace as the result of our position, surrounded by mighty nations on every hand; we should be forced to keep a rather large army and navy. America's history demonstrates the fact, however, that it is rather fatal, as far as internal peace is concerned, to be surrounded

by too weak neighbors. Both situations are undesirable and it is hard to say which is the worse.

What has been said about the lack of any real central organization in the Norwegian-Swedish union is only too true. It might even be asked if there is any such central authority at the present time. The Act of Union merely provides that such a common authority shall be established in case of war, and during the thirty-four years of its existence there has been no call for that. In all other affairs, the Swedish cabinet acts in matters which likewise involve Norway, and vice versa; but there is no common cabinet for both nations. And, what is of greater importance, a federal government simply cannot exist, because there is no federal legislative power; an executive power with nothing to execute would be a contradiction indeed. The unimportant part played so far by the so-called joint cabinet has been confined to the problems of enforcing the constitution or supplying such provisions as were lacking and putting them into force; its activities have been largely irregular,— only such as were brought about by the force of circumstances. In case of war, as stated in the Act of Union as well as in the constitution, the central power would be entirely self-contained; the authority to declare war would be vested in the same power that enacted laws, and it would not be executive in itself; no true executive power is provided for even in such an emergency, where it would be so necessary. There would be no real legislative and appropriating body either, and so it may truthfully be said that there is just enough of a central government to hurl both nations into the convulsions of a war with far more powerful enemies, and then it would go to sleep until there might be some other occasion for starting a war, in the meantime leaving it to the individual nations to get out of the scrape as well as possible. Those who made these arrangements even neglected to provide for

some way of making a joint peace. They perhaps thought that would scarcely be necessary since a union such as this would either be swallowed entire by its enemies or else so many difficulties would arise between the two nations during the struggle that they would be torn asunder before the war had lasted long enough to talk about peace. In either case it is quite unnecessary to have any provision in the Act of Union for a joint negotiation of peace.

I shall not further discuss the shortcomings of the present union, but shall merely call attention by way of illustration, to a few situations that might arise. Let us suppose that Sweden, for the protection of one of her industries, forbids the importation of certain English products. England retaliates, and, as is the custom in dealing with lesser powers, she proceeds without any particular scruples of conscience; she does not, however, in any way encroach upon the Norwegians, whose tariff, perhaps, favors England to a high degree. Sweden regards the affair as an insult to her honor as a nation, people are stirred up, they prefer to die rather than to be subjected to British insolence, and so on. The king summons his joint cabinet and declares war, with the hearty approval of the Swedish members and a "most humble protest" on the part of the Norwegians. Then he demands twenty million dollars of the Swedish assembly and ten million of the Norwegian, and at the same time all trade with England is declared high treason. What then?

Or, again, let us suppose that a treaty is made with Russia giving that nation a number of concessions and rights in Finmark. The Norwegian assembly decides that the government has made promises it had no right to make in such a treaty, and it passes laws or tariff regulations contrary to the treaty, or the government interprets the name "Finmark" to apply only to the townships of Finmark, whereas Russia takes it to include the whole district of Finmark, or

the whole diocese, or even more.² It will be seen that I have reference to an actual event, the only difference being that our government interpreted the name in the manner most advantageous to Russia.³ A nation that has a million soldiers at its command sometimes interprets matters to suit itself. In order to explain his interpretation still more fully, the Czar orders a few battleships to take possession of Tromsø and perhaps a few harbors in the Trondhjem district, whose peace and welfare, he claims, will be greatly promoted through a union with his possessions on the White Sea. And, lest he appear unreasonable, he offers Sweden a slice of Finland or possibly he opens the way for a very advantageous sale of Swedish products in Russia. Would Sweden then gladly and promptly come to our assistance? Would it appropriate two or three times as much money as we for the conduct of a war? Or suppose that Russia gets into trouble with western Europe, and a general war breaks out. Sweden wants to make use of the opportunity of regaining possession of Finland. Will Norway give assistance? What would she gain if Finland were won, or what

² The Norwegian *fogderier* is here translated "townships"; *amt*, "district."

³ From early times the Norwegian Finns had driven their herds of reindeer into Russia in the winter and in the summer the Russian Finns had crossed northern Norway with their flocks in order to reach the districts adjacent to the Arctic Ocean, where the gnats were less troublesome. These privileges were guaranteed by a special treaty. See Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, 2: 516-517. The treaty referred to, negotiated at St. Petersburg in 1826, gave rise to considerable trouble, to settle which negotiations were carried on in 1832, 1839, and 1841. In 1847 Russia demanded that the Russian Finns should have the right to fish on the coast of Norway and should be given a strip of land on the Varangerfjord for settlement. King Oscar refused, and on September 15, 1852, Russia barred Norwegian Finns from Russia. Sweden-Norway retaliated by closing its borders to the Russian Finns. On November 21, 1855, during the Crimean War, Sweden-Norway signed a treaty with England and France, promising not to cede a foot of territory to Russia, and the western powers promised to give assistance in case trouble arose. Vilhelm Poulsen, *Fortællinger af Norges Historie*, 4: 387-389 (Christiania, 1893).

price would she have to pay if the project failed? (If Finland should knock at our door after a Scandinavian union had been established, that would be another matter; it could probably be admitted as a fourth state in the union.) If in the famous Bodø affair our government, instead of swallowing her pride, had insisted on her rights at all costs, how many millions would Sweden have sacrificed in order to maintain our national honor and reject England's insolent demand of a reward for having intruded upon our laws!⁴ Such examples could be continued indefinitely; they all demonstrate the folly of making both nations responsible for the actions of one, even in cases where the other entirely disapproves of them or, at any rate, has no way of controlling them.

On the other hand, imagine a peculiar situation in which both nations were equally desirous of war. Both assemblies have appropriated the required sums, and each is fully satisfied that the other has acted nobly and generously. The acts of appropriation are not linked with any conflicting stipulations. Nevertheless there will be unavoidable sources of strife when the two armies and navies are to work to-

⁴ "John Everth, member of an English firm, and its agent, C. J. Gerss, who had established a trading station at Nyholmen in the harbor of Bodø, where they were allowed to occupy some government buildings, had turned smugglers, and carried on their traffic on a large scale. The government officials attempted to arrest the two men, and after some resistance they were finally lodged in jail, and their goods were confiscated. After a short time the smugglers were released, and some time later John Everth succeeded in decoying a part of the guards at Nyholmen on board his ships, where they were detained while he landed with twenty men, drove away the remaining guards, brought the goods on board his two vessels, and sailed away. Somewhere in the North Sea he placed the imprisoned guards in a frail boat in which they succeeded in reaching shore. This flagrant violation of all laws was to be settled by diplomatic negotiations between the English and Swedish governments. Everth not only claimed that he was innocent but he demanded a large indemnity, which the Swedish government awarded him without making any very serious attempt to defend the rights and dignity of Norway." Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, 2: 454.

gether. One nation will be annoyed at the unpreparedness of the other. The most serious problem, however, will be the disposal of the appropriated funds as well as the selection of members of the general staff and the financial administration of the war. No matter whether the funds are put into a combined war fund or kept separate, innumerable difficulties will arise. The one will find that too much money is being spent in Norway; the other that too much is spent in Sweden; and both will complain that they are being neglected. Most of the funds of both nations will be spent at the place where the actual fighting is taking place, but how are we to draw the line between what is to be paid for by one country or by the two together? If a redoubt is to be built, the one country will contend that it is built for the protection of both and ought to be paid for by both, whereas the other country will argue that every country must pay for the erection of all fortifications and redoubts built on its own territory. If the supplies of one country are used up or lost, while the supplies of the other are untouched or preserved, the same sort of question will arise, and there will be no one to decide the matter unless the king himself assume such authority, under a shower of protests from both sides. It is practically impossible to solve these and many similar problems as to the conduct of the war without giving the whole system, including the fortifications, a joint administration, as well as creating a body which shall enact regulations as to its management and appropriate money for the common defense of both nations. The authority of this body ought to include the organization, equipment, and training of the soldiers that do not belong to the regular army. This will still permit the constitution of the union to determine just which men in each kingdom may not be drafted for service outside of the kingdom. Not only the civil administration, but the military staff as well, must be held responsible for its actions; such is not now the case.

XXVI

PAN-SCANDINAVIANISM: DIFFICULTIES

BOSTON, May 10, 1848

A great deal has been said about the advantages of a union with Denmark. I shall merely mention one point, which, indeed, has already been referred to. There are certain peculiar difficulties connected with a union consisting only of Norway and Sweden that will disappear or at any rate lose much of their effect if Denmark is included. The decision of disputed questions will never be left to chance, as is largely the case where the division is one against one. There will always be a majority one way or the other, and this is a most important matter.

The difficulties in connection with such a union have suddenly become less than before, as I have already noted. I go on the supposition that Holstein will cease to be a part of Denmark, as it has declared its independence, and that will probably be the deciding factor in view of the prevailing sentiment in Germany at the present time. As far as the present question is concerned, it is of less importance whether Schleswig remains Danish or becomes German too. We ought to welcome Denmark with or without Schleswig. If Schleswig be lost, some way will undoubtedly be found of upholding the nation's honor, and such a loss will probably tend to make the people more desirous of joining our union.

Another obstacle in the way of union is the Sound duties, which, in spite of their recognition in treaties, have undoubtedly tended to make Denmark unpopular all over Europe and can scarcely withstand the pressure of the times much

longer. Europe, and particularly a united Germany, will demand that the principle of free channel be recognized in the Baltic no less than in the Mediterranean. This demand is probably so general and so strong that it will brush aside the customs barrier at Elsinore, at Stade, and elsewhere in the very near future, and it will thus be unnecessary for Norway and Sweden to demand special concessions from Denmark in this matter before a union can be effected. This would otherwise have to be done, or else the central government would have to be invested with extraordinary power to act in this affair. Under present conditions the Sound duties are not particularly burdensome for us in Norway; our export of herring is not greatly affected, as our competitors have to pay the same duties, and it is thus the consumers, rather than the producers, who suffer as a result of the limitations thus set upon the market. The duties on exports from the Baltic are advantageous to our own exports of the same kind, except in cases where we ourselves are the buyers. Nevertheless we shall have to pay our share together with the rest, when it comes to getting rid of the duties, all the more so because of the fact that at the adjustment made in 1819 we received the share due to us from the time of our union with Denmark.

A third difficulty may be found in the possible objection to such a union on the part of Russia, which presumably would prefer to keep the kingdoms as far apart as possible in order to play them off against one another and thus profit by their common helplessness. But just on this point the experience gained during a period of more than a century ought to impress upon us the desirability of grasping the present opportunity, when Russia has lost hold of the strings which control so many of its other puppets and has its attention nervously directed towards them. Our position is much like that of Switzerland, which was for a long time prevented by France and Austria from uniting and de-

veloping its own power but now, under the general turmoil that prevails, does pretty much as it pleases.

A fourth difficulty is the fact that there are two crowned heads instead of one, but — when I had progressed so far in my meditation, I saw a splendid building adorned with an elegant colonnade in front, situated on a hill overlooking the river. Upon inquiry I learned that it was “the lady prison.” We were at Sing Sing and the hill on which this palace towers is the well-known Mount Pleasant. There is an excellent view from its summit. The prison is for women without regard to rank or position in life, of course, but presumably they are all elevated to the rank of “ladies” by living in such a noble structure and at such a beautiful spot. The name “Mount Pleasant” is also well suited to the place for the reason that the ladies are able to keep in touch somehow with the gentlemen’s prison just below. This fact was revealed in last year’s prison report. It appeared to me, on the whole, that they lived in comfort and were well contented with their lot. Of course I was not permitted to speak with them. I thought I was fortunate in being allowed to see them and their cells. At Blackwell’s Island I was not allowed even to see the women, but no objection was raised to my speaking with the men. In the state penitentiary at Philadelphia I spoke with many of the prisoners.

—But to return to the plans for a Scandinavian union. Both the first and the last point discussed had reference to the question of establishing such a union in spite of the fact that there is one king too many. As I said before, the account of a contemplated and, I presume, quite voluntary resignation on the part of the Danish king led me to suppose that this difficulty no longer existed, or, at any rate, was of minor importance, and that gave rise to all these reflections of mine.

If we consider the personal inclinations of the two kings we must conclude that Frederik ought rather to give way

than Oscar. Furthermore, Frederik has no children, whereas Oscar has a flourishing family. In Frederik's case only one kingdom would have to give up its king, whereas Oscar has two kingdoms. Which is the more reasonable, then, that one nation give up its king in order that a union may be established, or that two kingdoms give up both their king and their royal family for that purpose? Furthermore, King Oscar has been reared under a constitutional monarchy, and has already demonstrated his ability to manage such a form of government, whereas Frederik has reigned only three months and the Danish constitution has presumably not yet been framed. I shall not venture to compare the two as to intellectual and moral qualities. What has already been said is so strongly in favor of Oscar that even the most brilliant talent on the part of Frederik could scarcely counterbalance it. If their talents are to be considered just about equal, the case becomes even more clear, of course, or if Oscar has the advantage, still more.

I understand that a constitutional assembly is about to meet in Denmark. It has always struck me as being legally impossible to substitute a constitutional form of government for that provided in the fundamental law of the kingdom. But even this must have its basis in the sovereignty of the people because it was the people who through their duly elected and authorized representative, Frederik III, brought it about, and this fundamental law, which on other points was not at all ungenerous about giving the king rights, specifically denied him the right to change the law itself. The only power authorized to change this law, consequently, must be that which originated it, namely, the sovereign people. But the question of royal succession must be provided for in a constitution no less than any other question pertaining to the government. This principle is sound, and is recognized by the Danish fundamental law, as well as by many other European nations. If the people decide upon some

particular form of government they may also decide who shall be at its head. No royal family has any other right than that given it in the fundamental law. To be sure there is one way of laying the foundation for a new constitution without leaving things entirely in the hands of a constitutional assembly. The government can see to it that the people in electing their delegates to such an assembly give them only a limited power to act. The king can do as he pleases as long as the people have no organ through which to express their sovereign will. On the basis of the fundamental law, it might be said, of course, that an offer on the part of the king to create such an organ is an attempt on his part to change the law, and therefore has no validity; the only practical application of this principle, however, is that the people in this case might refuse to obey the king and to limit the power of their delegates as he asked them to do; they could not necessarily give the delegates any unlimited authorization, as this the government could prevent, on the basis of the law. It was the negligence of the French government as to the authorization of representatives that enabled the assembly of the people to constitute itself a national assembly and force through the constitution of 1791. This the people had authorized them to do, and it was this authorization they swore to fulfill at their meeting in the Tennis Court.

I do not know if the Danish government has chosen the last plan. But I scarcely believe it would do so, even in the event that King Frederik were very desirous of retaining the throne or thought that would best serve the welfare of the nation. Very likely he feels confident that if he left matters entirely in the hands of the people they would show their gratitude by giving him back the throne, even if they disagreed with him as to the way in which he ought to exercise his power.

Some are probably of the opinion that the most serious

obstacles in the way of union will not be found in Denmark, but rather in Sweden and Norway. Such, I am inclined to believe, is very likely to be the case. Public sentiment is scarcely ripe for such a union. The prejudices in Norway and Sweden, both against each other and against the Danes, are stronger than the educated classes in both countries care to admit, and they form a rather effective barrier against further political union. The idea of a Scandinavian union has by no means penetrated the mass of the people, and there is no use arguing on general principles or external facts when you have to deal with sentiments. To be sure people in the North are bound to be influenced by the great drama that is being enacted in the rest of Europe, where states are being reduced to their elements as if by a chemical process and new states formed on the basis of the national instincts of the people themselves. Furthermore, the creation of a mighty nation in the center of Europe ought to impress us with the folly of remaining split into fragments, surrounded as we are, on the south, the east, and the west, by great powers. But is all this enough? Has the Pan-Scandinavian movement succeeded in reaching the hearts of the people themselves, the source of true devotion and enthusiasm? Has it made such a place for itself that it has become the object of their reflections by day and their dreams by night? Has it become so bound up with the very essentials of their existence that it has found its place in the Holy of Holies, along with their noblest and purest aspirations, their love for country, family, and home? This is rather doubtful, to say the least. The trouble so far has been that the Pan-Scandinavian movement has been an "idea," not an instinct. People have not as yet felt themselves as one nation, and yet it is through national impulses that destiny lays down its laws for the future of states.

Under such circumstances we must consider discretion a virtue just as essential as courage and energy. Those who

are to determine the future of the nation for generations to come have a right to go a step beyond their own time, and there is a certain elasticity in public sentiment which, when the enthusiasm has been aroused by peculiar circumstances and the good will of the people has been won, enables people to follow their leaders far beyond the limits of their regular mode of thought. But there is always a certain limit beyond which prejudices or traditional notions cannot be driven. And if the legislator will not listen to the command to stop, which thus expresses itself through popular sentiment, he runs the risk of doing more harm than if he had let things alone. To live alone may be bad enough, but a marriage contrary to one's own inclination is ten times worse.

Another difficulty which upon first sight might appear serious indeed is in reality of little importance. I refer to the obstructions met with in the constitutions of Norway and Sweden. If changes must be made as provided for in the constitution, the prospects would indeed be rather hopeless. But that is entirely out of the question. The constitutional provisions are adequate for ordinary situations and should be observed. But when it is a question of extending the confederation to which the nations belong, and thus of changing the very foundation on which they stand, it is necessary to return to the original social power on which the whole structure rests. Society must turn back upon itself in order to be rejuvenated and strengthened for the new forms of development it is to start upon. This is surely no new doctrine in any of the kingdoms; at any rate, it is no new practice. In Norway we have an almost identical case as a precedent, namely the Act of Union with Sweden in November, 1814. The changes then made in the constitution of the Seventeenth of May were not made in accordance with the provisions for changing that constitution. And yet the representatives of the people did not doubt their right to act;

the people who elected them had authorized them, expressly or tacitly, to bring about a union with Sweden and to make the necessary adjustments. Thus it was done when two Scandinavian countries were united, and thus it can be done again when a third country is to be added to the union. We might call the assembly a "special Parliament," as was done in 1814, but it would probably be better, in order to avoid all misunderstanding, to give it some name that would indicate its true character.

Naturally, the provisions contained in the constitution and the elections act could not be held to apply to the election of representatives to such an assembly; some provisions would have to be made, both for the election of members as well as for the summons. Electing members for an assembly to represent the sovereignty of the nation is, naturally, an altogether different affair from electing members to carry out the business of the regular assembly. Some will favor the idea of making this assembly larger and having the members elected directly, as well as extending the franchise somewhat, but for my part I prefer to use the accustomed machinery; the practical advantages of such a plan will outweigh the more theoretical arguments that might be presented, and, generally speaking, it has worked well and has resulted in a true representation of the will of the people. But, I repeat, this machinery could not be set in motion for this occasion without a definite decision to that effect, and such a decision would have to come from the same authority that summoned the national assembly. The question arises, What authority should this be? The constitution recognizes no such authority, and at this point we come to the quasi-revolutionary aspect of the matter. In the nature of the case, however, it must be the highest authority within the state, that in whose hands rests the general welfare of the state, namely, the legislative assembly, and even it cannot command the people to elect members with special

power to act but can merely invite them to do so. It can, however, command officials to announce this invitation as well as to conduct the elections, and so on. The authority of the representatives would have to be limited to the business that makes such an assembly necessary, namely, the extension of the Scandinavian union to include a third kingdom, the negotiation of an act of union, the drawing up of a constitution for the union, as well as the making of the necessary changes in our own national constitution. Indeed there might be some temptation to extend their authority somewhat, as the flaws in our own constitution have become more and more obvious these last few years and have caused so much trouble that a revision of the whole document would be desirable. But the present time is scarcely favorable for such an undertaking, which ought to be given a legal rather than a political aspect. Such a project, in the nature of the case, may fully as well be considered quite separately from the plans for the union. Furthermore, the constitution itself makes sufficient provision for such alteration and so there is no need to adopt any extraordinary methods of procedure. Even if people should prefer to entrust their sovereignty to the hands of fully authorized representatives, it follows as a matter of course that the assembly would still be bound by the existing Act of Union with Sweden until that nation agreed to change it.

XXVII

ON THE EVE OF DEPARTURE¹

NEW YORK, September 26, 1848

Dear brother and good friend:

It will not be long before I bid this continent farewell and start out to cross the huge pool of water that now separates us. I have now been here again in New York almost three weeks, and during this time I have made a number of plans as to my return home. I had originally planned to cross to some point in northern Germany or France, but the war prevents German ships from going out, and the voyage to Havre on one of the liners would be a little too expensive for me. It might also be rather difficult to get home from Havre. I had almost become reconciled to the thought of going by way of England and had practically made arrangements to go on the liner "Northumberland" when the officials of the German line began to make preparations and swore that the ships would make the return trip in spite of everything. They have received orders from home to set out and even the latest report, which we received by steamship yesterday to the effect that Schleswig-Holstein is making a disturbance again in spite of Armistice Number 2, has not caused them to change their plans. The first of the steamships, "Braveur," leaves on Friday or Saturday, or so they say at any rate, and they certainly are loading it with bales of cotton with all their might. Nevertheless I cannot quite dismiss the fear that another steamship may arrive before we leave and bring some orders to the contrary. If this should prove to be the case, I shall shift to an English boat,

¹ This letter is not one of the published series, but is taken from the manuscripts in the possession of Dr. Ulrik Anton Ræder.

and shall report the change to you at once. The "Braveur" is only three years old and, although it is not very large, it is really a quite respectable three-master of five hundred tons. I am to pay sixty dollars for the best accommodations, which are on the deck, where there will be plenty of ventilation, so I shall not be bothered, I hope, with the terrible odor from the bilgewater which caused so much annoyance to all the passengers on the London liner "Wellington," on which I made the voyage over here. I think I shall write to someone in Copenhagen and ask to have a ship sent out to capture us; in that case I shall have a little taste of the war, too, and I shall get a free trip to Copenhagen besides. I really have nothing in particular to do in Hamburg, the "Braveur's" destination, unless it be to observe the enthusiasm of the Schleswig-Holsteiners. I have already had a good sample of it in the person of the captain, a huge, rather brutal-looking fellow, exactly the type which the Americans commonly characterize as an "honest German." He started talking politics as soon as he found that I belonged, in a way, to the same race as his—a circumstance to which, I must say, I cannot yet become reconciled.

For a long time I was negotiating with the skipper on a brig belonging to Aall, sent here with a cargo of iron and now waiting for another cargo. Both he and the ship were highly recommended. In the meantime he has not yet succeeded in getting a cargo for Gothenburg as he hoped to do, and I have therefore given up hope of going with him. A long voyage on a small ship with no society is not very attractive, either.

I have not heard from you since last April. When I returned here to New York, however, I was told that a letter from Norway had come and that it had been forwarded to me in Canada a month ago. I had asked for mail regularly at the post office in Montreal but I had always been told that there was nothing for me. Nevertheless I wrote to a

man there and asked him to investigate, and just yesterday I received a letter from him informing me that he had been positively assured that there was no mail there for me. The circumstances of the case, as well as some inquiries I have made here today, have led me to suppose that the letter is probably at the post office on the Canadian border at Lake Champlain, and I have telegraphed that office to return it here, if such be the case, so that I may receive it before I leave. I have been putting off writing to you in the hope of receiving that letter first, but as I can scarcely expect it before the mail boat leaves tomorrow, I may as well write to you now, and wait until next time to answer whatever there may be in that letter. I almost dread getting the letter. What evil may not have befallen you during all this time! I feel rather sure that you are alive, because otherwise Mr. Løvenskjold would probably have been informed, and yet I am even in some doubt as to this point, if I take "you" to include the Danish branch of the family. A Captain or a Major Ræder is reported to have been wounded—how seriously I do not know. Løvenskjold thinks the wounds were serious, but Heyerdahl thinks they were not. The Løvenskjolds have, of course, had another sorrow in the news of their brother's death, and yet I do not think it has been too severe a blow, and, of course, the glory that surrounds his death has undoubtedly helped to console them. The Løvenskjolds live in the country about six miles out of New York. Omnibuses go right by their door every hour, however, so it is an easy matter to get out there. They have a guest-room for visitors and I have spent several nights there and am planning to go out again the day after tomorrow. I forgot all about going out last Sunday, which I understand was really unfortunate, because the dinner was unusually good. I do not mean that it is not good ordinarily—quite the contrary!

Here at home, too, I live well—or, rather, I live rather

badly, but in good company. As you know, it is customary here in America for families, as well as single men, to live in boarding-houses. Just now it happens that there are a number of young men living here with their wives, and some of them, both of the former and the latter, are very pleasant. The fairest of the ladies is the wife of a rather stupid fellow who, nevertheless, is one of the publishers of a weekly paper, and, from his eight thousand or so subscribers, manages to draw a yearly income of two thousand dollars. He showed me today some fine words in one of the New York papers, really very flattering to Norway and especially to her laws and her lawyers, and, at his request, I promised to write a few comments on the passage so that he would have something with which to impress his colleague.

There really is little to be said about my affairs otherwise, except that I now have a rich supply of material of all sorts and can make out a report or a book as bulky as anyone may desire. Some people may feel that I have spent too much time here in this country, but it is wholesome to live a while in this western hemisphere, and, besides, others who have been sent here to make investigations for European governments have found it necessary to spend more time here than I have. Chevalier was here about two years, and De Tocqueville, so far as I know, even longer. Where the field of investigation is so rich and the material so scattered and of such varied nature, it is impossible to do things in a hurry. It is really a very complicated system that governs these thirty planets as they circle about their central star, each of them full of motion, life, and a varied play of colors, both elusive and brilliant.

I did a little calculating some time ago as to whether or not people back home might possibly expect me to present a report early enough so that it might be made the basis for some sort of motion to be brought before the Storting this year, and this is the result of my calculation: I was to be

gone at least a year, according to the resolution, not counting the time spent in actual travel. When people say "at least a year" they may sometimes mean the same as "at most a year," but one should suppose that they would be entirely satisfied if one remained considerably longer, and that thought is quite in accord with the general notion of what a "stipend" is. Let us assume, then, that a stay of a year and three months in England and America would be considered better than, or merely just as good as, a stay of one year. Then, allowing two months for the trip over and a month and a half for the trip back, and six weeks for the trip from the Atlantic coast to the distant West and back—all of which is a very conservative estimate, indeed—we have five months spent in travel, or a total of a year and eight months. I left Norway in October, 1846, and, according to these calculations, I should have been back in the first part of June. Then I was to have four months in which to complete my report, which would thus be in the hands of the department in October, and then it would have to be read and considered, and a recommendation to the Storting would have to be prepared, and probably it would all have to be printed before it could be presented to the Storting, —which would have adjourned long before that time.

It became clear, then, that, so far as I was concerned, nothing could be in readiness for this year's Storting. When I had reasoned out that much, I decided to put enough time and money into it to become rather well acquainted with conditions, and I think I am to be commended for following that course. Surely no one can dispute that it will probably be more advantageous to my report that I have been here a year and three months than if I had been here only three-fourths of a year. If a capable man like De Tocqueville found it necessary to spend over two years here in order to see the country, it would surely be foolish to expect me in less than half that time to have had a chance

even to glance at it. It would be far more probable that I should need as much as six or eight years.² I do not suppose it makes much difference if the report remains upon the shelves of the department a few months more or less. You will understand from the above that I have not been entirely free from scruples of conscience, since I have gone to the trouble of finding so many points to put it at ease. I understand that Sørensen is going to be the new head of the department.

I desisted from my scribbling long enough to go to a book sale, where I bought a copy of Vermont's Statutes for the sum of twenty-five cents. I had just today finished the tedious work of making excerpts from them in a library, and now I could have spared myself all that trouble. By the way, talking about books, have you received the three trunks I sent you this summer? And now two more trunks? These last two I sent to Heyerdahl from Boston and asked him expressly to hold them for me until I got back, because I had laid away in them an overcoat and my (or rather our) huge storm-cap, which I thought would help to keep me comfortable when I got out on the ocean blue. Besides, there were books and documents there which I valued so highly that I preferred to have them right with me. If they are lost on the way, I shall be a lost man when I return home. Therefore, I thought, it was best that the books and I just threw our lots together on the way. But, to make a long story short, that scoundrel Heyerdahl sent them right on to Christiania, addressed to you, as he maintains, on a ship which was just ready to sail. He even asserts that I said nothing in my letter about holding them, but Løvenskjold had read the letter and he remembers distinctly that it was as I said. That does not make things any better for

² It should be understood that where Munch Ræder speaks of himself in comparison with De Tocqueville he has reference, not to these informal travel letters, but to his great work on the jury system.

me now, however, and one of the results of it is that I shall have to reduce my already slim purse still more by the purchase of a coat to protect me from the storm and the cold.

I have not much to tell on the subject of public or private forms of amusement. New York is the Gomorrha of the New World, and I am sure it may well be compared with Paris when it comes to opportunities for the destruction of both body and soul. There is a copious literature being produced now, depicting the mysteries and the miseries of city life, as well as popular comedies picturing all its wretchedness with coarse realism. I have seen two such comedies, both of them full of violence, swindling, and debauchery. In both of them appeared the popular character, Mose, representing "the b'hoys," and another character representing "the g'hals." Among the public amusements now available, whose number is more than legion, is the Creation of the World in diorama, produced with the help of machinery, and said to be very good.³ I think I shall go to it. And ought I not to take Miss Marie along? That certainly is the very least I can do to satisfy her mama, who every day tries to make me see that I really ought to take her along clear to Christiania. What a fix for a poor man like me to get into, who simply is not used to offers of that sort, and does not just know how best to interpose a demurrer, as the English law puts it! I assure you I have not in any way crossed the line that distinguishes between what is proper and what is improper in such matters. Even the most extreme American finicality could find nothing wrong in my conduct, but these boarding-house women are pretty bad, when they have found one who, as they think, would make a good bread-winner. I have often heard the opinion ex-

³ A diorama is a painting or series of paintings in which, by the use of cloth transparencies and various lighting effects, alterations in the pictures are produced before the eyes of the spectators, giving the illusion of motion.

pressed that I must be rich, since I am able to travel about so much, and, for my part, I have no objection to being considered a matador,⁴ so long as it costs me nothing. I must remark, however, that there is a Professor de Musique who is about to supplant and demolish me, or rather, who has already done so. The two young ladies have become his pupils and they are untiring in their "fa-re-mi-la-sol-la-si." Some of the other ladies are likewise musically inclined.

In Canada I had the opportunity of seeing the famous General Tom Thumb, who is really not more than twenty-eight inches in height. He certainly looked comical enough when he strutted about in court dress or posed as Napoleon. He sang, danced, and appeared as Cupid in graceful poses and so on, in order to persuade us that, despite his diminutive size, he was, nevertheless, well-formed. Another curiosity, but of a different type, is the fat Boissa and his friend, Madame Bissop, who had made a little journey thither, and were received with great applause by the "upper ten" in Montreal. They are now here in New York, where it is said they expect to remain all winter. I had planned to take a trip down to Quebec, but I gave it up for the sake of economy, as I really had nothing in particular to do down there. I just made a little excursion in that direction, down to Verchères, in the vicinity of which there are some mineral springs, where my hostess in Montreal operates a large hotel. We made the trip up to the hotel in old French coaches. Another day I started out in the opposite direction, to Lachine, a place which gets its name from the fact that the first discoverers who came up the St. Lawrence River thought they were on the way to China, and thus, quite naturally, gave that name to the farthest point they reached on their journey. Now a good railroad leads to the

⁴ One of the three high trumps in solo, quadrille, or ombre.

place, and the cars are far better than those on the line from Montreal to the states are—or, rather, were.

From Lachine I crossed the broad river in a canoe propelled by two Indians to Caughnawaga, an Indian village which remains untouched in the midst of this civilized country. One does not find the villagers in their native wildness, of course, but the race seems to have remained unmixed, at any rate, and their dress, bearing, and general characteristics give this little village, with its small wooden houses scattered about irregularly and with no pavement or other such signs of civilization, a distinctive appearance. Nearly all the men and women have a rather melancholy expression on their faces, and this is intensified by the dark blue or sometimes white blankets which they wear about their heads as well as about most of their bodies, whenever they go out on the streets, solemnly and alone, often with burdens on their backs, which they carry with the help of straps fastened over their foreheads or on their breasts. The first sight that greeted me as I landed was three or four youngsters dressed in red cloth, which formed a fitting contrast to their black, disordered hair, and their intent eyes, as they stared at me from the top of a little hill, where they were digging in the dirt. Later on my attention was drawn by a peculiar buzzing sound in a house, the street door of which stood open. I went in and found that it was an A B C school, where a man was busy teaching a flock of little boys the rudiments of English. As soon as these people are taught English or French they will probably become amalgamated with the rest of the population, as has proved to be the case with several tribes in the states. At present, however, very few of them know any language other than the Indian, though I believe French is somewhat better known among them than any other European language. I did see a few young men, however, who had acquired a certain knowledge of English-American customs.

The women busy themselves making all sorts of trifles, especially moccasins, papoose-dolls, and bags decorated with glass beads, as well as cases of bark. One can see them through the open windows, busily occupied with such work. I went in and watched some of them and looked at the articles they had made. In their houses they lay aside the large blanket with which they cover themselves when they are out on the street, and one gets a better idea as to how they are actually attired—in light, short, many-colored dresses and blue trousers, stitched together with light strings. Their features are generally too broad and their cheek-bones too high to be beautiful, but I did see two or three who might lay some claim to beauty. They seemed to be friendly and good-natured; one of them, who did not have the sort of article I was looking for, escorted me over to a friend of hers who did have it, apparently not minding the long walk at all. Lachine is also interesting for the fact that the steamships bound for upper Canada generally leave from that point. Few of them go directly to Montreal, because then they would have to pay the canal toll.

But I must proceed and tell of my departure from Montreal. One day before I left I enjoyed an excellent view of the city from the summit of an elevation, Monte-reale, originally Mont Royal, at whose foot the city is located. I climbed the hill in company with a young lawyer from Montreal, by way of a very steep and rough path. Just a few days before I left the city I barely escaped being killed in a rather unique fashion. I had just taken a seat in the Parliament library, under the glass roof, and was turning the pages of a book, when suddenly some large pieces of glass came whizzing past my ears. Some men were working on the roof and happened to break a few panes of glass, which came crashing down into the center of the room, where I was sitting. Fortunately not a single splinter struck me, but

I found it advisable from then on to sit elsewhere. It was not my accustomed place, either.

After I had gathered considerable data and had become well acquainted with legal and political conditions in general, and had taken leave of His Excellency, who had just returned home from an extended visit with his sick wife near Quebec, and of August Rolland, to whom he had given me an introduction, I crossed the St. Lawrence River again, and took the train, on which there was now included a car built in American style, down to St. John, where I embarked on a Yankee steamship to Whitehall. From that point it took me half a day by stagecoach to get to the famous Saratoga, where people gather during the summer from all parts of the Union to drink the water and enjoy the marvelous scenery as well as the other pleasures of this fashionable summer resort. The place is simply full of huge hotels. On the way down, we passed one of those places to which excursions are often made from Saratoga, namely Glens Falls, a quite impressive bit of scenery. I made a little excursion myself out to Saratoga Lake, a few miles from the city. Here one goes on board a little steamship and is transported to the opposite end of the lake, a distance of some six miles, where there are sulphur springs, of whose abominable contents one drinks a few glasses, and there is also a building where I took a sulphur bath. I spent four days at Saratoga and visited the public promenades, a wretched theater, and the various springs, among others the Big Rock, a lone rock a few yards in height and width, located at the foot of a mountain; in its center there is an opening through which one sees water gushing forth, clear and inviting, about a foot or two below. It is salty, but I shall spare you a chemical analysis of it. Most of the other springs have mineral waters, for example Hamilton Springs, the water from which is sold under the name of Congress Water. In Saratoga I became acquainted with a Danish doctor from

the West Indies, Dr. Armstrong, who stayed at the same place with me. He had left Denmark twenty years before and had spent most of the time since then in Porto Rico. He spoke many different languages, and had not forgotten his Danish, either, but found pleasure in this opportunity to speak it. He was sick and miserable.

From Saratoga I went to Schenectady on a wretched train, which, however, is being improved. From that city I went to Albany, where I stayed about a day, in order to make use of a letter of introduction to the very kind and obliging secretary of state, Mr. Morgan. Then I continued to New York on the steamship "Confidence," which is an "opposition" boat and took its passengers all those hundred and sixty miles for twenty-five cents! Since then it has cut the price to twelve and a half cents.

In telling about my stay in Montreal I should have mentioned my visit to a cloister. I was given permission to attend an examination of the pupils, who, among other things, presented in a sort of theater a few Biblical scenes,—the daughter of Pharaoh picking up the child Moses, and Hagar in the desert. Finally the Catholic bishop handed out the awards. It was a great privilege for me to be admitted, as the young unmarried men in the city are excluded, even if they have sisters among the young ladies, because "they are not brothers to them all." The holy mothers exercise stern justice. I was given a place among a group of priests, and when one of the music teachers, with whom I was acquainted, came and sat beside me, the mothers immediately suspected that we were talking about the young ladies, and he was called away.

I shall not say much about politics here. As you know, much strife has arisen in both camps, as a faction of the Locofocos, called the Barnburners,⁵ who oppose the exten-

⁵ For the Barnburners see *ante*, p. 190, n. 3.

sion of slavery into the newly acquired territories, have parted company with the others and have joined forces with some antislavery and anti-Taylor Whigs, and have set up Van Buren and Adams as candidates for the presidency and the vice-presidency. In Montreal I met two of the leaders of these united groups, namely, Charles Sumner of Boston, a Whig, and Tilden of New York, a Barnburner. They are the two Americans that I really know most about, and there they had been together in all friendliness at the convention of the new party in Buffalo, and, after having helped organize that party, they were making a little excursion through Canada on their way home. Another division of the Whigs, namely the Clay-Whigs, recently made a desperate effort to oppose the Taylorites, and they declared that they would rather be slain with their old hero, "Harry of the West," than come out victorious with any other candidate, but Clay himself has recently declared that he will not permit his name to be brought up in connection with the presidency, and he admonishes them to respect the decision of the Philadelphia convention. His followers are accordingly again falling in line with the Taylorites. Taylor himself is trying to reconcile the rebels by declaring himself, more and more decidedly, to be a Whig, thus abandoning his hopes of Locofoco support. The Locofocos on their part are busying themselves robbing him of all the honor they formerly showered upon him, and will soon be fully agreed that a bigger fool can scarcely be found on God's earth. They have already discovered that his military career has been beneath all criticism.

The government press in Washington is taking the lead in these attacks, as is also the *Democratic Review*, and it supports Cass with might and main. It is impossible to predict the outcome. Taylor certainly has the greatest personal appeal to the masses, but it will depend on just how far their discipline under the various party leaders really ex-

tends, and no one can say whether the Cassites or the Taylorites will suffer most as the result of the uprising of the antislavery men. This last group can scarcely be expected to elect a president of its own, because, in the nature of the case, it has very slight influence in the South; but here in the North it creates a most awful havoc, because both parties are becoming more and more ashamed and disgusted at the thought that the mother republic is confirming and extending a scandal which nearly all the rest of the civilized world has abolished with contempt. If the Whigs and the Democrats lose in the same proportion, and the South remains solid, the Taylorites will, of course, suffer the greater loss, because it is here in the North that the Whigs have their strength. But I have the impression that Taylor's personal popularity in the South will more than counterbalance this, and will make him president in spite of all opposition. Some are of the opinion that the votes will be so distributed that the final choice between the three candidates will be left to the House of Representatives in Washington, in accordance with the twelfth amendment to the Constitution, and in that event it is not by any means impossible that Van Buren may win. There has been a great deal of canvassing for the Van Buren party among our countrymen in Wisconsin, and it seems probable that they will join that party. Here is one issue which they understand far better than most of the issues that distinguish the parties. Reduced to its simplest terms, it sounds like this: Shall human beings continue to exist or shall they not?

Farewell, then, all of you, and write soon to me at Copenhagen. I shall write as soon as I reach a European harbor. Greet Jacob and tell him that I shall never succeed in writing to him until he can manage to have his birthday come just a little farther away from yours.

Affectionately yours,

M. RÆDER

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